

96 June 10-12 1704

THE JUDGEMENT

Of the late
ARCH-BISHOP

OF
ARMAGH.

And

P^rimate of Ireland,

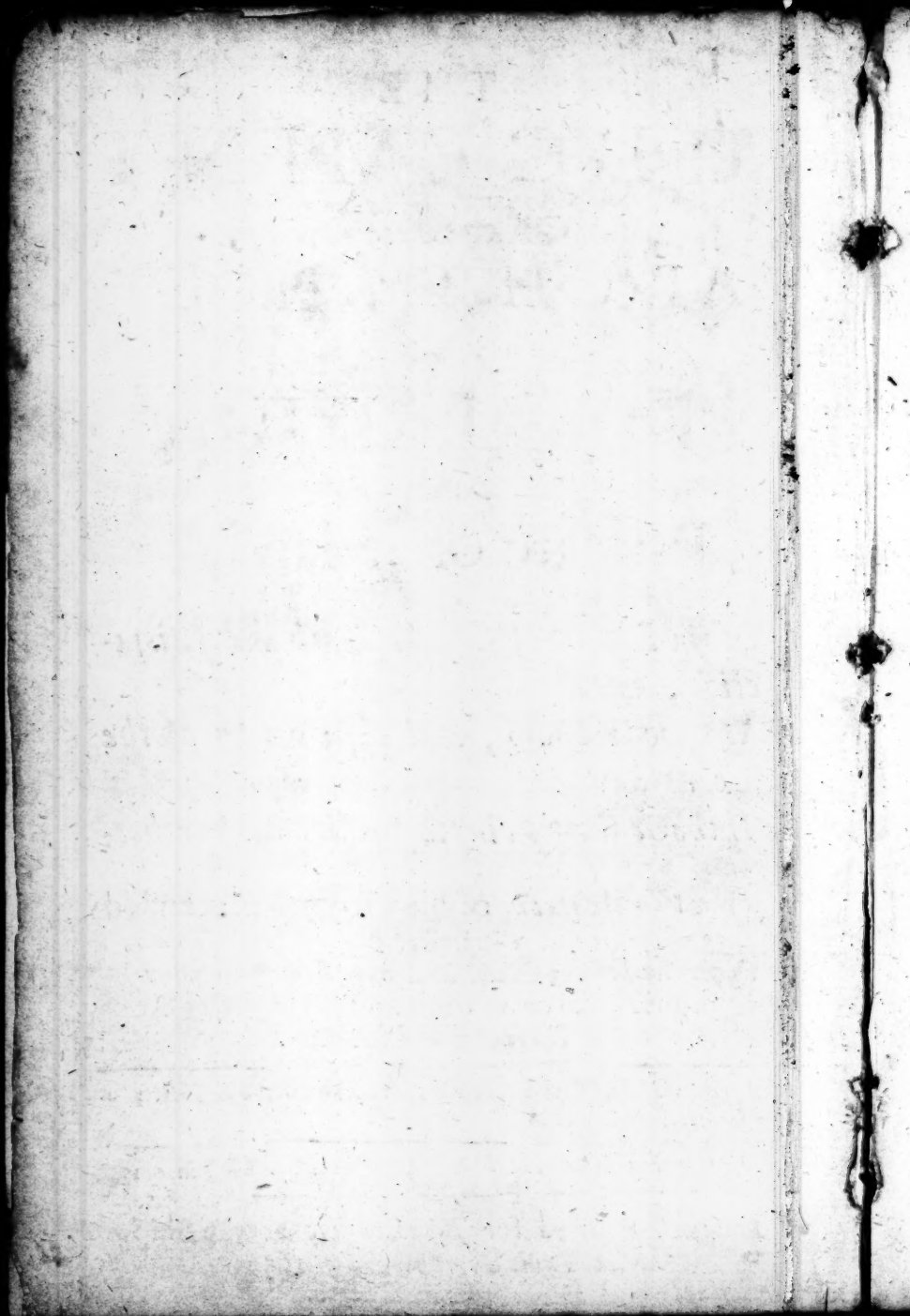
1. *Of the Extent of Christs death and satisfaction, &c.*
2. *Of the Sabbath, and observation of the Lords day.*
3. *Of the Ordination in other reformed Churches.*

With a *Vindication* of him from a pretended
Charge of opinion in the first; Some *Advertisements*
in the latter; And, in prevention of further
injuries, A Declaration of his judgement
in several other subjects.

By N. Bernard, D.D. and Preacher to the Honourable Society of
Grays-Inne, London.

Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost; Joh. 8. 12.

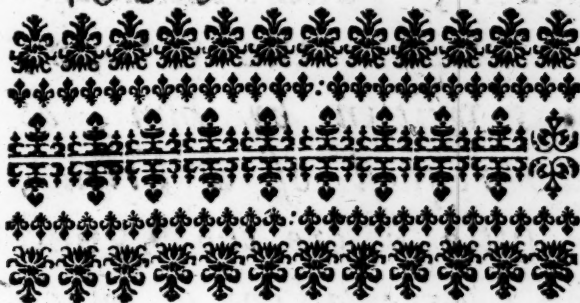
London, Printed for John Crook, at the
in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1704.



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TO THE
READER.



THE first Treatise containing the Judgement of the most eminent Pri-

mate of Ireland, concerning the True Intent and Extent of Christs

A 4 death,

3 vii.

Argent

31 mch 143

Gen. Rev.

To the Reader.

death , and satisfacti-
on upon the Crosse,
was written by him , at
the request of a Friend,
a little before the Synod
of Dort: a Copy of which
being taken , was (un-
knowne to him) carried
thither by a Member of
it : upon the multiplying of
them exceptions were ta-
ken by divers , and by one
Penne contracted into a
Letter to him ; which the
second Treatise is an an-
swer unto : both these I
had from him about twenty
eight

To the Reader,

eight yeares agoe , and
now upon the desire of
such , whose judgements I
subscribe unto , and the
prevention of other mista-
ken Copies , which pos-
sibly might be produced,
I have been hastened to the
printing of them. That
which hath given the oc-
casion , is the mistake late-
ly published of the change
of his Judgement in it, a
little before his death:
But by the view of these,
I believe the Authour
will receive satisfaction.

In

To the Reader.

In the vindication of which two Letters, being desired from me long ago, (which have been hitherto deferred the publick) I have been importuned to permit them to be annexed.

Unto which I shall here adde but this, That not onely in the forenamed subjects, but in the rest relating to the Remonstrants, the Primate concurred with Bishop Davenant, whose Lectures De morte Christi, & prædeterminatione

To the Reader.

natione & reprobatione,
be caused to be published,
only that little Treatise ad-
ded in the conclusion of it,
entituled Sententia Eccle-
siæ Anglicanæ de præde-
stinatione & capitibus an-
nexis, &c. taken to be Bi-
shop Davenants, and im-
plied so by the Printer (ab
eodem, uti fertur, Au-
thore, which possibly hath
occasioned the apprehension
of a change in him also) I
have been assured by a Per-
son of Eminency, (who af-
firms it out of his own know-
ledge)

To the Reader.

ledge) that it was Bishop Overals.

And now upon this occasion I have thought fit to publish a Learned Letter of the Primates wrote many yeares agoe to Doctor Twisse, concerning the Sabbath, and, Observation of the Lords day; having two Copies, corrected throughout with his owne hand, with parts of two other Letters of the same matter, which I had together with the former: as also his judgement in divers

To the Reader.

vers other subjects, both in
Doctrine and Discipline,
with some Advertisements
for the clearing and pre-
venting of any further mis-
apprehensions.

Unto which is ad-
ded his Reduction of E-
piscopacy to the form of
Synodical Government,
&c. before published; And
at the request of the Prin-
ter, a distinction of those
Books which are owned by
the Primate, from such as
are not.

If the Readers Opinion
shall

To the Reader.

*shall dissent in any of
the above-named, or swell
into an opposition, let him
not expect any defensive
Armes to be taken up by
me, it being my part to
declare his judgement as
I finde it, Which with
the most Pious and Learn-
ed, I doubt not but will
be (as it hath been) of a
Reverend and high esteem:
If it may but moderate
the heat, which hath late-
ly broken out among us a-
bout some of them, the
fruit expected is reaped;
And*

To the Reader.

*And as these shall be of
profit and acceptance, I
shall be encouraged to a
further gathering up of
the like fragments.*

N. B.

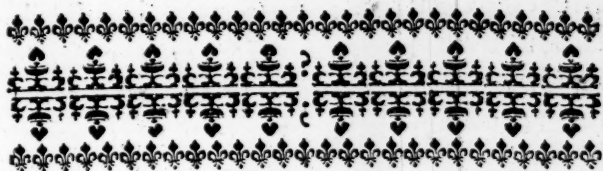
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The Judgement of the late
Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, and
Primate of *Ireland*, of the true
Intent and Extent of Christs
death, and satisfaction
upon the Crosse.

Written in Answer to the request of
a Friend, *March 3. 1617.*

The true Intent and Extent of
Christs Death, and Satisfaction
upon the Crosse.



He all-sufficient *satisfa-*
ction of Christ, made
for the finnes of the
whole World. The true
intent and extent, is
Lubricus locus to be handled, and
hath, and doth now much trou-
B ble

The true Intent and Extent

ble the Church : this question hath been moved *sub iisdem terminis quibus nunc*, and hath received contrary resolutions; the reason is, that in the *two extremities* of opinions held in this matter, there is somewhat true, and somewhat false; *The one* extremity extends the benefit of Christs satisfaction *too farre*, as if hereby, God, for his part, were *actually* reconciled to all mankind, and did *really* discharge every man from all his sins, and that the reason why all men do not reap the fruit of this benefit, is the want of that faith whereby they ought to have believed, that God in this sort did love them : Whence it would follow, that God should *forgive* a man his sins, and *justifie* him before he believed, whereas the *Elect* themselves, before their effectuall vocation are said to be *without Christ, and without hope, and to be utter strangers from the Covenants of Promise*, Ephes. 2. 2.

2. *The other extremity contracts the*

the riches of Christs satisfaction into *too narrow* a room; as if none had any kind of interest therein, but such as were *elected* before the foundation of the World; howsoever by the Gospel, *every one* be charged to receive the same: whereby it would follow, that a man should be *bound* in conscience to *believe* that which is *untrue*, and charged to take that wherewith he hath nothing to do.

Both extremities then, drawing with them unavoidable absurdities: The Word of God (*by hearing whereof, faith is begotten*, Eph. 1. 13.) must be sought unto by a *middle course*, to avoyd these extremities.

For finding out this *middle course*, we must, in the matter of our *Redemption*, carefully put a distinction betwixt the *satisfaction* of Christ *absolutely* considered, and the *application* thereof to every one in particular: The *former* was *once* done for all, The *other* is *still* in doing: The *former* brings with

it *sufficiency* abundant, to discharge the whole debt; the other addes to it *efficacy*. The *satisfaction* of Christ, onely makes the sinnes of mankind *fit for pardon*, which without it, could not well be; the injury done to Gods Majesty being so great, that it could not stand with his honour to put it up without amends made. The particular *application* makes the sins of those to whom that mercy is vouchsafed to be *actually pardoned*: for, as all sins are mortal, in regard of the stipend due thereunto by the Law, but all do not *actually bring forth death*, because the gracious Promises of the Gospel stayeth the *execution*: even so all the sinnes of mankind, are become *venial*, in respect of the *price* paid by Christ to his Father (so farre, that in shewing *mercy* upon all, if so it were his pleasure, his *justice* should be no loser,) but all do not obtain *actual remission*, because most offenders do not *take out*, nor plead their

pardon

pardon as they ought to do. If Christ had not assumed our *Nature*, and therein made satisfaction for the injury offered to the divine Majesty, God would not have come unto a *Treaty of peace* with us, more than with the *fallen Angels*, whose nature the Sonne did not assume: But this way being made, God holds out unto us the *golden Scepter* of his Word, and thereby, not onely signifieth his pleasure of *admitting* us unto his presence, and accepting of our *submission*, which is a wonderful Grace, but also sends an *Embassage* unto us, and *entreats us that we would be reconciled unto him*, 2 Cor. 5. 20.

Hence, we inferre against the *first* extremity, that by the virtue of this blessed Oblation, God is made *placable* unto our *nature* (which he never will be unto the *Angelical nature* offending) but not *actually* appeased with any, untill he hath received his son, and *put on the Lord Jesus*. As also against

the *latter* extremity, that *all men* may be truly said to have *interest* in the merits of Christ, as in a *Common*, though all do not enjoy the *benefit* thereof; because they have *no will* to take it.

The *well-spring* of life is set open unto all (*Apoc. 22. 17.*) *Whosoever* will, let him take of the *water of life* freely, but many have *nothing to draw with*; and the *Well is deep*, Faith is the *vessel* whereby we draw all vertue from Christ, and the Apostle tells us, That *Faith is not of all*, (*2 Thes. 3. 2.*) Now the *means* of getting this Faith is the *hearing of the word of truth*, the *Gospel of our salvation* (*Ephes. 1. 13.*) which *ministreth* this general ground for every one to build his Faith upon.

Syllogisme. What Christ hath *prepared* for thee, and the Gospel *offereth* unto thee, that oughtest thou with all thankfulnessse to *accept*, and *apply* to the comfort of thy own Soul.

But

But Christ by his death and obedience hath *provided* a sufficient remedy for the taking away of all thy finnes, and the Gospel *offereth* the same unto thee. *Therefore* thou oughtest to accept, and apply the same to the comfort of thine own Soul.

Now this Gospel of salvation many do *not hear* at all, being destitute of the Ministry of the Word; and many hearing do *not believe*, or lightly regard it; and many that *do believe* the truth thereof, are so *wedded* to their finnes, that they have no desire to bee *divorced* from them, and therefore they *refuse* to accept the gracious offer that is made unto them. And yet notwithstanding their refusal on their part, we may truly say, That good things were provided for them on Christs part, and a rich price *was put in to the hands of a Foole, howsoever he had no heart to use it* (Prov. 17. 16.)

The true Intent and Extent

Our blessed *Saviour* , by that which he hath performed on his part, hath procured a *Jubilee* for the Sons of *Adam* ; and his Gospel is his *Trumpet* , whereby he doth proclaim *Liberty to the Captives* , and *preacheth the acceptable yeare of the Lord* (Luke 4. 18, 19.) If for all this some are so well pleased with their Captivity that they desire no deliverance , that derogates nothing from the generality of the freedome annexed to that year. If one say to *sinne* his old Master , (*Levites* 25. 24. *Exod.* 21. 5. *Deut.* 15, 26.) *I love thee , and will not go out free* , he shall be *bored* for a slave , and *serve for ever* . But that slavish disposition of his , maketh the extent of the priviledge of that yeare not a whit the *straiter* , because he was included within the general Grant as well as others ; howsoever , he was not *disposed* to take the benefit of it : *The Kingdom of Heaven* is like to a certain King that made a marriage of his Son , and sent

sent his servants to those that were bidden to the Wedding with this message ; *Behold, I have prepared my Dinner ; my Oxen, and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready, Come to the Marriage,* (verse 4.) If we look to the event. They they that were bidden made light of their entertainment , and went their wayes ; *one to his Farme, and another to his Merchandize.* (verse 5.) but that neglect of theirs doth not falsify the word of the King (verse 4.) viz. That the Dinner was prepared, and these unworthy Guests were invited thereunto ; For what , *if some did not believe, shall their unbelief disannull the Faith, and truth of God ?* (Rom. 3. 3, 4.) *God forbid ; yea, let God be true, & every man a lyar, as it is written, that thou mayest be justified in thy sayings, and overcome when thou judgest. Let not the house of Israel say, the way of the Lord is unequall.* For when he cometh to judge them , the inequality will be found on their side,
and

and not on his. *O house of Israel, are not my wayes equal, and your wayes unequal? saith the Lord, Ezek. 18. 29, 30.*) *The Lord is right in all his wayes, and holy in all his works. All the wayes of our God are mercy and truth; when we were in our sinnes it was of his infinite mercy that any way, or remedy should be prepared for our recovery. And when the remedy is prepared, we are never the nearer, except he be pleased of his free mercy to apply the same to us, that so the whole praise of our Redemption, from the beginning to the end thereof, may intirely be attributed to the riches of his grace, and nothing left to sinfull flesh wherein it may rejoyce.*

The freeing of the Jewes from the Captivity of Babylon, was a Type of that great deliverance, which the Son of God hath wrought for us.

Cyrus, King of Persia, who was Christus Domini (and herein but a shadow of Christus Dominus, the
 Authour

Authour of our Redemption) published his Proclamation in this manner; *Who is amongst you of all his people, the Lord his God be with him*, and let him go up, (*2 Chron.* 36. 23. and *1 Ezra* 2.) Now it is true, they alone did follow this Calling, whose spirit God had raised to go up, (*Ezra* 1. 5.) But could they that remained still in *Babylon*, justly plead, That the Kings Grant was not large enough, or that they were excluded from going up by any clause contained therein? The matter of our Redemption purchased by our Saviour Christ lieth open to all, all are invited to it, none that hath a mind to accept of it, is excluded from it. *The beautifull feet of those that preach the Gospell of peace, do bring glad tidings of good things to every house where they tread.* The first part of their Message being this, Peace to this house, (*Rom.* 10. 15. *Luke* 10. 5. *Luke* 17.) But, unlesse God be pleased out of his abundant mercy to guide our feet
into

The true Intent and Extent

into the way of peace, the Rebellion of our Nature is such, that that we run head-long to the *wayes of destruction and misery*, (Rom. 3. 16.) *and the wayes of peace da we not know*. They have not all obeyed the Gospel, Rom. 10. 16. all are not apt to entertain this Message of peace, and therefore, though Gods *Ambassadours* make a true tender of it to all unto whom they are sent, yet *their peace only resteth on the sons of peace*, but if it meet with such as will not listen to the motion of it, *their peace doth again return unto themselves*, (Luke 10. 6.) The Proclamation of the Gospel runneth thus: Apoc. 22. 17. *Let him that is a thirst come*, for him this Grace is specially provided, because none but *he* will take the paines to come; But least we should think this should abridge the largenesse of the offer, a *Quicunque vult*, is immediately added, and *whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely*: yet withall this must bee yielded

yielded for a certain truth, that it is God who must work in us *to will and to do*, of his good pleasure; and though the call be never so loud and large, yet none can *come except the father draw him*, (John 6. 46.) For the *universality* of the satisfaction derogates nothing from the *necessity* of the *speciall* Grace in the application: neither doth the speciality of the one any wayes abridge the generality of the other. Indeed Christ our Saviour saith (Job. 17. 6.) *I pray not for the world, but for them that thou hast given me*: but the consequence hereby inferred may well be excepted against, *viz.* He *prayed* not for the world, Therefore, He *payed* not for the world; Because the latter is an Act of his *satisfaction*, the former of his *Intercession*: which being divers parts of his Priesthood are distinguishable one from another, by sundry differences. This his *satisfaction* doth properly give contentment to Gods *justice*, in such sort as formerly hath

hath been declared : His *Intercession* doth solicit Gods *mercy*. The first containes the *preparation* of the remedy necessary for mans salvation ; The second brings with it an *application*, of the same. And consequently the one may well appertain to the *common nature*, which the son assumed, when the other is a *speciall* Priviledge vouchsafed to such *particular* persons onely , as *the father hath given him*. And therefore we may safely couclude out of all these premisses , That the *Lamb of God* offering *himselfe a sacrifice for the sinnes of the whole world*, Intended by giving sufficient satisfaction to Gods Justice, to make the *nature* of man, which he assumed, a fit subject for mercy, and to prepare a *medicine* for the sinnes of the whole world ; which should be denied to none that intended to take the benefit of it : Howsoever he intended not by *applying* this all-sufficient remedy unto every person in particular to make it *effectual* unto the
the

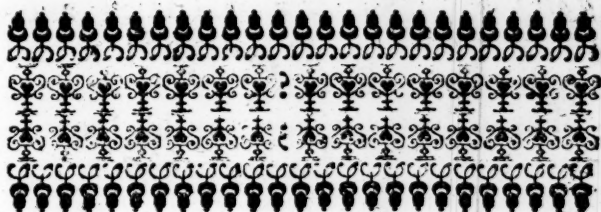
the salvation of all, or to procure thereby *actual* Pardon for the sins of the *whole world*. So, in one respect hee may be said to have *died for all*, and in another respect *not* to have died for all; yet so as in respect of his mercy he may be counted a *kind of universal cause* of the restoring of our Nature, as *Adam* was of the depraving of it; For as far as I can discern, he rightly hits the naile on the head that determineth the point in this manner.

Thom, Contra Gentiles,
lib. 4^o. 55.

Mors Christi est quasi quaedam universalis causa salutis; sicut peccatum primi hominis fuit quasi universalis causa damnationis. Oportet autem universalem causam applicari ad unumquodque specialiter, ut effectum universalis causae participet. Effectus igitur peccati primi

mi parentis pervenit ad unumquemque per carnis originem ; effectus autem mortis Christi pertingit ad ad unumquemque per spirituales regenerationem per quam Christo homo quodammodo conjungitur & incorporatur.

AN



A N

Answer of the said Arch-
Bishop of *Armagh*, to some
exceptions taken against
his aforesaid Letter,
as followeth.

I Cannot sufficiently wonder,
why such exceptions should
be taken at a *Letter of mine*,
which without my privity
came to so many mens hands,
as if thereby I had confirmed *Pa-
pisme*, *Arminianisme*, and I know
not what error of Mr. *Culverwels*,
which (as you write) is , and
hath been, opposed by *many*; yea,
all good men. The *Papist* (saith
one) doth thus distingnish; A Me-
diator

diator of *Redemption* and *Intercession*; And *Bellarmino* (saith another) divides the satisfaction and application of Christ. To which, what other *Answer* should I make but this? To hold that *Christ* is the onely Mediator of Redemption, but the *Saints* are also Mediators of Intercession, That *Christ* by his Merits hath made satisfaction to his Father in grosse, and the *Pope* by his *indulgence*, and his Priests by their Oblations in the Masse do make a particular application to particular persons. To joyne thus *partners* with Christ in this manner in the Office of Mediation is Popery indeed; But he who, attributing the entire work of the Mediation unto Christ alone, doth yet *distinguish* the Act of Redemption from the act of Intercession, the Satisfaction made by him unto God, from the Application thereof communicated unto men, is as far from *Popery*, as he that thinks otherwise is from the grounds of the *Catechisme*. For that

that Christ hath so died for all men (as they lay down in the conference of Hague) *ut reconciliationem cum Deo, & peccatorum remissionem singulis impetraverit*, I hold to be untrue, being well assured, That our Saviour hath obtained at the hands of his father Reconciliation, and Forgiveness of sinnes, not for the *Reprobate*, but *Elect onely*; and not for them neither, before they be *truly* regenerated, and implanted into himselfe. For, *Election* being nothing else but the purpose of God, resting in his own minde, makes no kind of alteration in the party elected, but onely the *execution* of that Decree and Purpose, which in such as have the use of reason is done by an *effectual calling*, in all by spiritual regeneration, which is the *new birth*, without which no man can see the Kingdom of God.

That *Impetration*, whereof the *Arminians* speak, I hold to be a fruit, not of his Satisfaction, but Intercession; and seeing I have

learned from Christs own mouth, *Joh. 17. 9. I pray not for the reprobate World* : I must needs esteem it a great folly to imagine that he hath impetrated *Reconciliation* and Remission of sinnes for that world. I agree therefore thus farre with Mr. *Aimes* in his Dispute against *Grevinchovius* , That *application* and *impetration* , in this latter we have in hand , are of *equall extent* ; and , That forgiveness of sinnes is not by our Saviour impetrated for any unto whom the merit of his death is not *applied* in particular. If in seeking to make straight that which was crooked in the *Arminians* opinion , he hath bended it too farre the contrary way , and inclined too much unto the *other* extremity , it is a thing , which , in the *heat* of *disputation* , hath befallen many worthy men before him ; And if I be not deceived , gave the first occasion to this *present* controversie. But I see no reason why I should be tied to follow him in every step ,
wherein

wherein he treadeth: And so much for Mr. *Aimes*.

The main error of the *Arminians* (*vid. Corvin. in Defen. Armini. cap. 11.*) and of the patrons of universal grace is this, *That God offereth* unto every man those means that are necessary unto salvation, both *sufficiently and effectually*; and, That it resteth in the *free will* of every one to receive, or reject the same; For the proof thereof they alledge, as their predecessors, the *Semipelagians*, did before them, that received Axiome of Christs *dying for all men*, which being rightly understood, makes nothing for their purpose. Some of their *opposites* (subject to oversights as well as others) more forward herein then circumspect, have answered this Objection, not by *expounding* (as was fit) but by flat *denying* that famous Axiome: Affirming peremptorily, that *Christ died onely for the Elect*, and for others *nullo modo*: whereby they gave the adverse party advantage

to drive them unto this extream *absurdity*, viz. That seeing Christ in no wise died for any, but for the *elect*, and *all* men were bound to believe that Christ died for *themselves*, and that upon pain of damnation for the contrary *infidelity*; Therefore all men were bound to believe that they themselves were *elect*, although in truth the matter were nothing so:

*Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.*

Neither is their hope that the *Arminians* will be drawn to acknowledge the *error* of their position, as long as they are perswaded the contrary opinion cannot be maintained without admitting that *an untruth* must be believed, even by the commandment of him that is *God of truth*, and by the direction of that word, which is the *word of truth*.

Endeavouring therefore to make
one

one truth stand by another, and to ward off the *blow* given by the *Arminians* in such sort that it should neither bring hurt to the *truth*, nor give advantage to *error*, admit I failed of mine intent, I ought to be accounted rather an *oppugner* than any wise an *abettor* of their *fancies*. That for the *Arminians*. Now for Mr. *Culverwell*, That which I have heard him charged withall, is the *former* extremity, which in my Letter I did condemne, *viz.* That *Christ* in such sort did die for all men, that by his death he made an *actuell* reconcilment between God and man; and, That the special reason why all men reap not the *fruit* of this reconciliation, is the want of that *faith*, whereby they ought to have believed that God in this sort did love them. How *justly* he hath been charged with this error, *himselfe* can best tell; But if ever he held it, I do not doubt, but he was driven thereunto by the absurdities, which he discerned in

the other extremity ; For what would not a man fly unto rather then yield , that Christ no *manner* of way died for any *Reprobate*, and none but the *elect* had any kind of title to him , and yet so many *thousand* Reprobates should bee *bound* in conscience to *believe* that he died for them , and *tied* to accept him for their Redeemer and Saviour ; yea , and should be *condemned* to everlasting torments for *want of such a faith* , (if we may call that faith , which is not grounded upon the word of truth) whereby they should have *believed* that which in it selfe was most *untrue*, and laid hold of that in which they had no kinde of interest ; If they , who dealt with Mr. *Culverwell* laboured to drive out one absurdity by bringing in another , or went about to stop one hole by making two , I should the lesse wonder at that you write , that though he hath been *dealt withall* by many *brethren* , and for many yeares , yet he could not be drawn from

from his error. But *those stumbling-blocks* being removed, and the plain word of truth laid open, by which faith is to be begotten, I dare boldly say he doth not hold that *extremity* wherewith hee is charged, but followeth that safe, and *middle course*, which I laid down; for after he had well weighed what I had written, he *heartily thanked the Lord and me*, for so good a resolution of this Question, which for his part he wholly approved, not seeing how it could bee gainesayed. And so much likewise for Mr. *Culverwell*.

Now for Mr. *stock's* publick opposition in the *Pulpit*, I can hardly be induced to believe that he aimed at me therein; If he did, I must needs say he was deceived, when hee reckoned me amongst those *good men*, who make the universality of *all the elect*, and *all men* to be one; Indeed I wrote but even now, that God did execute his Decree of Election in *all*
by

by spirituall generation: But if any shall say, that by, *all* thereby I should understand the universality of *all*, and *every one in the world*, and not the universality of all the *Elect* alone, hee should greatly wrong my meaning: for I am of no other mind than *Prosper* was, *lib. 1. De vocat. Gent. Habet populus Dei plenitudinem suam, & quamvis magna pars hominum salvantis Gratiam aut repellat aut negligat, in electis tamen & præscitis atque ab omni generalitate discretis, specialis quædam censetur universitas, ut de toto mundo, totus mundus liberatus, & de omnibus hominibus, omnes homines videantur assumpti.* That Christ died for his *Apostles* (Luke 22. 19.) for his *sheep* (John 10. 15.) for his *friends* (John 15. 13.) for his *Church* (Ephes. 5. 25.) may make peradventure against those, who make all men to have a share *alike* in the death of our Saviour: but I professe my selfe to hold fully with him, who said, *Etsi Christus pro omnibus*

omnibus mortuus est, tamen specialiter pro nobis passus est, quia pro Ecclesia passus est. Yea, and in my former writing I did directly conclude; That as in *one respect* Christ might have been said to die for all, so in *another respect* truly said not to have died for all: and my believe is, That the *principall* end of the Lords death, was, *that he might gather together in one the Children of God scattered abroad;* (John 11. 52.) and, That for their sakes he did *specially sanctifie himselfe*, that they *also might be sanctified through the truth* (John 17. 19.) And therefore it may be well concluded, That Christ in a *speciall* manner died for these; but to inferre from hence, that *in no manner* of respect he died for any others, is but a very weak collection, specially the *respect* by me expressed being so reasonable, that no sober mind advisedly considering thereof, can justly make question of it, *viz. That the Lamb of God offering himselfe a sacrifice for the*

An answer to some exceptions

the finnes of the world, intended by giving satisfaction to Gods justice to make the *nature* of man which he assumed, a fit *subject* for mercy, and to prepare a Sovereigne *medicine* that should, not onely be a sufficient cure for the finnes of the whole world, but also should be *laid open* to all, and denied to none, that indeed do take the benefit thereof: For he is much deceived that thinkes a preaching of a *bare sufficiency*, is able to yield sufficient ground of *comfort* to a distressed Soule, without giving a further way to it, and opening a further passage.

To bring newes to a *bankrupt* that the *King of Spain* hath treasure enough to pay a thousand times more than he owes, may be true, but yields but cold comfort to him the miserable *Debtor*: sufficiency indeed is *requisite*, but it is the word of *promise* that gives comfort.

If

If here exception bee taken,
That I make the whole *nature* of
man *fit* for mercy, when it is
as *unfit* a subject for grace as
may be.

I answer, That here *two* *impe-*
diments do occurre, which give a
stop unto the peace, which is to
be made betwixt God and man.
The one respects God the party *of-*
fended, whose justice hath been in
such sort violated by his base Vas-
sals, that it were *unfit* for his
glorious Majesty to put up such an
injury without a good *satisfaction*.
The other respects *man* the party
offending, whose *blindnesse*, *stu-*
pidity, and *hardnesse* of heart is
such, that he is neither sensible
of his own *wretchedness*, nor Gods
goodnesse, that when God *offers* to
be reconciled unto him, there
must bee much intreaty to per-
swade him to be *reconciled to God*,
(2 Cor. 5. 20.) In regard of the
latter I acknowled with the *Apo-*
stle, That the *naturall man* receives
not the things of the spirit, for
they

they are foolishnesse to him; neither can he, because spiritually discerned, (1 Cor. 2. 14.) And this impediment is not taken away by Christs satisfaction (which is a work of his Priestly function) but by the enlightening of the mind, and softning the heart of the sinner, which are effects issuing from the execution of the Prophetical, and Kingly Office of our Redeemer. When therefore I say, That by Christs satisfaction to his Father he made the Nature of Man a fit subject for mercy, I mean thereby, that the former impediment arising on Gods part is taken away, that if it were not for the other (for the having whereof we can blame none but our selves, and in the not removing, whereof, wee cannot say God hath done us any wrong) there were no let, but all men might be saved: And if it pleased God to extend his mercy unto all, as he keeps his freedome therein, in having compassion on whom he will have mercy, and leaving

ing others in blindnesse, naturall hardnesse of their own heart, yet the *worth* of Christs satisfaction is so great, that his *Justice* herein should be no *loser*.

But if this *Justice* (you will say) be *satisfied*, how comes it to passe that God *exacts payment* again from any? *I Answer*, We must take heed we stretch not our *similitudes* beyond their just extent, least at last we drive the matter too farre, and be forced to say (as some have done) That wee cannot see how *satisfaction* and *forgivenesse* can stand together, and so by denying Christs *satisfaction* be injurious to Gods *justice*, or by denying *remission of sinnes* become injurious to Gods *mercy*. Wee are therefore to understand, that the end of the satisfaction of Gods *Justice* is to make way for Gods *free liberty* in shewing mercy, that so mercy and *Justice* meeting : and embracing one another, God *may be just*, and the *justifier of him that believes*

believes in Jesus, (Rom. 3. 26)
 Now the generall satisfaction of Christ, which was the *first* act of his *Priestly* Office, prepares the way for Gods mercy, by making the sinnes of all mankinde *pardonable*, the interposition of any barre from Gods Justice notwithstanding, and so puts the sonnes of men onely in a *possibility* of being justified, a thing denied to the nature of fallen *Angels*, which the sonne was not pleased to assume; But the *speciall* application of this satisfaction vouchsafed by Christ unto those persons onely whom his Father hath given him *out of the world*, which is an appendant, or appertaineth to the *second* Act of his Priest-hood, *viz. his intercession*, produceth this *potentia in Actum*, i. e. procureth an *actuell* discharge from Gods anger; And maketh *justification*, which before was a part of our *possibility*, to be a part of our present *possession*.

If it be said, It is a great *derogation to the dignity* of Christs death, to make the sinnes of mankinde onely *pardonable*, and brings in a *bare possibility of justification*.

I answer, It is a most unchristian imagination to suppose the merit of Christs death, being *particularly applyed* to the Soul of a sinner, produceth no further effect than this. Saint *Paul* teacheth us that we be not onely *justifiable*, but *justified by his blood*, (Rom. 5. 9.) yet not *simply* as offered on the Crosse, but *through faith in his blood*, (Rom. 3. 25.) that is, through his blood *applyed by faith*. The blood of *Jesus Christ his Sonne*, (saith Saint *John*, 1 John 1. 17.) *cleanseth us from all sinnes*, yet cleanse it doth not by being *prepared*, but by being *applyed*, prepared it was when hee *poured* it out once upon the Crosse, *applyed* it is when he *washeth* us from our sinnes therein, (Rev. 1. 5.) It is *one thing* therefore to

D

speake

speake of Christs *satisfaction*, in the generall *absolutely* considered; and another thing, as it is *applied* to every one in *particular*; The consideration of things as they are in their *causes*, is one thing; and as they have an *actuell existence*, is another thing. Things as they are in their *causes*, are no otherwise considerable, but as they have a *possibility* to be. The application of the *Agent* to the *patient*, with all *circumstances* necessarily required, is it that gives to the thing an *actuell* being. That *disease is curable* for which a *Soveraigne* medicine *may* be found, but *cured* it is not till the medicine be *applied* to the patient; and if it so fall out, that, the medicine being *not* applied, the party miscarries, We say, He was *lost, not*, because his sicknesse was *incurable*, but, because there wanted a *care to apply* that to him that might have helped him.

All *Adams* sonnes have taken a mortall sicknesse from their *Father*, which, if it be not remedied, will, without faile, bring them to the *second death*: no medicine under heaven can heale this disease, but onely a *potion confected* of the blood of the *Lamb of God*, who came to take away the *sinnes of the world*; which, as *Prosper* truly notes, *habet quidem in se ut omnibus prosit; sed si non bibitur non medetur*. The vertue thereof is such, that if all did take it, all without doubt should be recovered, but without takeing it there is no recovery; In the former respect it may be truly said, That no mans state is so desperate, but by this means it is recoverable, (and this is the first comfortable newes that the Gospel brings to the distressed Soule) but here it resteth not, nor feedeth a man with such a possibility, that he should say in his heart, *Who shall ascend into heaven to bring Christ from above*; but it brings the word of comfort nigh

unto him, even to his mouth and heart, and presents him with the *medicine* at hand, and desireth him to take it; which being done accordingly, the cure is actually performed.

A



A
VINDICATION
of the late
ARCH-BISHOP
OF
ARMAGH,

From some *mistakes* made by Master *Thomas Pierce*, both in his *Philanthropy*, & *Post-script* at the conclusion of his *correct Copy of some Notes of Gods Decrees*, &c. Affirming a *change* of judgement in him *a little before his death*, of some points controverted between Mr. *Barlee* and himself, but especially of *Universal Grace and Redemption*, relating to the subject of the former Treatise.

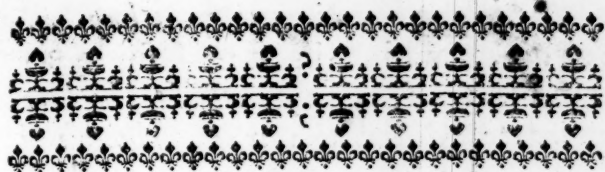
By Dr. *Bernard*, Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Grays-Inne*.



The Printer to the
READER.

THese two Letters following, expected from the person to whom they were writ, as an Appendix to another Treatise, being hitherto delayed the publick, and now conceived very requisite to be inserted here, as having a relation to the former Tractates mentioned in one of them; The Doctor hath been importuned to permit them accordingly also, with some alteration and addition,

The



*The first Letter of Doctor
Bernards to Mr. Barlee, in Answer
to some passage in Mr. Pierces
Philanthropy.*

Worthy Syr,

I Am much your debtor for those large expressions of your affection to the late *Arch-Bishop of Armagh*, and the readinesse to cleare him from some injury done him by *Mr. Thomas Pierce*, in his Answer to a Book of yours. Two eminent men of each *University*, before I heard from you, had sent unto me for their private satisfaction. And now upon your Letter and directions I have viewed the severall passages tending that way, *Chap. 1. Sect.*

3. 5. *Chap. 3. Sect. 17. 7. Chap. 4. Sect. 13.* which in sum I finde amounts to this, *viz. That the late Primate of Armagh was, though a late, yet a serious Convert: And affirmed, a little, or not long, before his death to severall persons, that he utterly rejected all those opinions of Calvin. That there were evident marks of a change in him. That a little before his death he professed an utter dislike to the whole Doctrine of Geneva, in those affairs, &c.* First; it is possible Mr. Pierces enformers might mistake the Doctrine for the Discipline of Geneva, or Calvin, which by some in their Sermons hath been advanced accordingly: or if it were of the Doctrine, he hath taken a great latitude in saying, *All the opinions, the whole Doctrine.* And the Restriction. *viz. In those affaires,* is somewhat obscure, being introduced occasionally upon the speech of one or two of them. It had been better to have named the several points he means, from which
how soe-

howsoever, as to *Calvin*, or *Geneva*, how could he be said to revolt, when *in terminis* he did not profess the defence of either. It being the Doctrine of *S. Augustine*, which hath been confirmed by him.

And for *Calvine*, though I do not take upon me the defence of him neither, yet there is one Doctrine of his, and in those affaires (different from some of his own profession in *Geneva*) which must be exempted from *Mr. Pierces Universality*, and which, will not be found that the *Primate* rejected, viz. that *massa corrupta* was the object of *Prædestination*, as *Bishop Davenant* makes it appear, (in his determinations, q. 26.) where he first clears him from the ^a *slanders* a Calvinum criminantur Jesuita quod defendat Deum, in primo instanti ante omnem the *Jesuites* have raised of him in it, viz. That he should hold that God in the first Act before any

prævisionem peccati, quosdam absolute elegisse ad gloriam, alios destinasse ad interitum. In secundo autem instanti, peccatum Adami eo fine ordinasse, ut justitiam suam erga Reprobos, & misericordiam erga Electos posset exercere. (determ. q. 26.)

fore-

fore-sight of sin, elected some to glory, and ordained others to destruction; And in the second place ordained the sinne of Adam to that end, that he might exercise justice towards the Reprobates, and mercy towards the elect; and then gives you clearly ^b the truth of Calvines judgement in two propositions confirmed out of divers quotations in his institutions, viz. That the corrupt Masse; or man lapsed, was the object of Election and Reprobation, though not the cause: And further, proves, That what the Jesuits put upon Calvine, their own Popish Writers were the prime Authours of, viz. Scotus, Naclantus, Pigbius, Catharinus, Galatinus, Alphonsus Mendoza, who aver, That the ^c Decree of Prædestination is not onely before the Decree of permitting the lapse of man, but also before the creating of him. And ^d desires it might be taken notice of,

^b Verissimam Calvini sententiam, hisce duabus propositionibus contineri affirmo, &c. Cæcus est qui non videt in hisce Leis subterni corruptam massam prædestinationis &c. subjectum esse tum Electionis tum reprobationis, non causam, &c. Ibid.

^c Decretum prædestinationis non solum decreto lapsus permittendi, sed hominis

creandi prius & antiquius esse, &c. Ibid. ^d Hoc tantum cupio ut inde perspicatis, ipsos Pontificios Primarios esse hujus sententiæ authores, quæ negat hominem lapsum fuisse divinæ Prædestinationis subiectum. Ibid.

That

That the Popish Writers were the chief Authors of that opinion, which denies ~~man~~ lapsed to be the subject of Divine Prædestination; which, if some of ours did consider, they would be the slower paced in the defence of that which hath occasioned this digression. Howsoever, as to Calvin's opinion, this Reverend and learned Bishop thus far supports it, that he joyns S. e. *Augustines* suffrage with his own in it; and as it is there declared, I understand not how it is rejected By this Eminent *Primate*.

But *whatever* these points were, if this be Mr. *Pierces* meaning, That a little before his death he should Verbally retract what he had published in his works, I am assured (though it be hard to prove a Negative) there was no such matter: but that he was constant in them to his end. When he was last in *London*, continuing here about seven weeks together, I was perpetually with him, taking then the opportunity of a further speaking

e Illud sole clarior testimonium est, quod ex Augustino desumptum assertur & probatur à Calvinò Institut. 3. c. 23. sect. 11. Ibid.

ing with him of most of the passages of his life, as of the several *Books* he had wrote, the *Subjects* of them, the occasion of their writing, when some such points (as Mr. *Pierce* possibly may meane) came into discourse. And then there was not the least change in him. And it is to be presumed, in that *last Act* of winding up his *whole life*, if there had been any, he would have then mentioned it, and this was but about *five weekes* (which is *a little*, or *not long*) before his death. And it hath bee confirmed to me by a Minister, who was at *Ryegate* a fortnight before, as by some Honorable persons, who spake with him of these *Subjects* a few dayes before his death; so that I believe Mr. *Pierce* hath not been well advised in publishing this his Information.

And it is no new thing to have *bookes*, as well as opinions, *laid to his charge which he knew not*: It was presumed in his *life*, and so the

the lesse wonder if it be practised after his *death*. There is a book entitled a *Method of Meditation*, which was printed in his name, *Anno* 1651. And, though by his *Commands* to me, it was then publickly declared to be none of his, yet *since his death* (this 1657.) it is reprinted, and, notwithstanding the renewing of that Declaration by the *same way* wherein I found him abused, it is still sold under his *name* to the great dishonour of him.

The passage which Mr. *Pierce* is most clear in, *Chap. 1. Sect. 15.* Where, speaking of *Universal* grace and redemption, he saith, *the most Learned Anti-Arminians have been feinto assert it, as well as Arminius. Among us, the late Bishop of Armagh, &c.*

First, He should have done well to have named *where* he hath asserted it in any of his works, Next, *What*, or *who* compelled him, that he was *fein* to do it; and if by that speech *as well as Arminius* he means (according to common construction

struction) As full, or in the *same terms* as *Arminius*; it will be the hardest proof of the *three*; whom he scarce ever names in his works: his aime being against *Pelagius* and his Disciples. Unlesse that passage in his *Pelagian History* may be so applied (wrapped up under the Title of *Britannia Antiquitates*, *Pelagius* being a *Britain*, which he intended to have taken out, and printed as a Treatise by it selfe) where he having given us at large the bold and rugged language, with which *Julian*, one of *Pelagius* his followers, in defence of his Doctrine, greets the most mild and meek Father S. *Augustine*, he addes this, Chap. II. p. 312.) *Cujus idcirco verba hic describenda putavi; ut in hoc speculo contemplaretur lector, consimiles nostrorum temporum ardelliones; Thrasoni huic adeo geminos, ut in eos, hujus spiritus quasi per Pythagoricam quandam μεταμύωσιν, immigrasse videatur*: I know not how he can call him an *Anti-Arminian*, unlesse he confesse them to be *Pelagians*. Second-

Secondly, In this particular concerning *Universall* Redemption I have cause to believe there was not any *change* in him from what his judgement was many yeares agoe: and if he were not *totally* according to *Calvin*, must it therefore be argued, he was *wholly* for *Arminius*? Might not there be a *mean* wherein he might tread more safely according to the *ancient* Doctrine of the *Church*? And indeed to deal clearly with you, his judgement in this point was in a *middle way* different, both from *yours*, and Mr. *Pierce*, which if it might not expose him to both your pens and censures, but be a reconciliation between you, (the latter of which I see little hope of;) I might be moved the more willingly to declare it. I do the rather mention this; because, As Mr. *Pierce* saith, *you call it the chief head of Arminianisme*, So he saith, 'tis that *with which other opinions in debate must stand, or fall*: And Chap. 3. p. 15. excuseth his prolixity on it, because if
this

this error be once disclaimed by the adversary, all the rest will tumble of their own accord, &c.

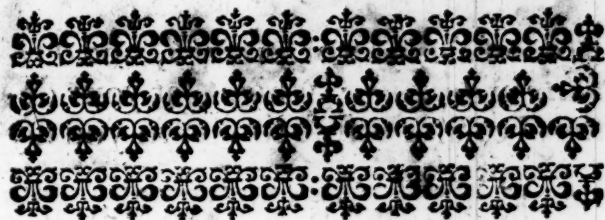
In a word, I am sorry to find that *heat* between you, which beng *Ministers* and *Neighbours*, is the more *unseemly*. I shall advise you in your reply to endeavour rather to *heal* up the breach, than make it wider; the fruits of the spirit appearing much in *meeknesse* and *Gentlenesse*, &c. and laying aside all *verball animosities* and personal reflections, calmly to fall upon the matter, And so I commend you and your labours to Gods blessing and direction, and rest

Your very assured Friend

N. BERNARD.

*Graves-Inne,
March 11.
1656.*

A second



A Vindication of the Primate, from a late change of opinion.

A second Letter, of the said Doctor Bernard to Mr. Barlee, in Answer to a part of a Postscript at the conclusion of a book of Mr. Pierces, viz. a Correct Copy of some Notes of Gods decrees, &c. Wherein the former erroneous report raised upon the late Arch-Bishop of Armagh, especially concerning Universal Grace, or Redemption, being more largely affirmed, is here more fully cleared and vindicated.

S I R.

I Have lately received from you another book of Master Pierces, which I saw not before, viz. *A Correct Copy of Gods decrees, &c.* In the *Postscript* of which I find a larger confirmation of what had been affirmed by him, in relation to the
E
late

late *Arch-Bishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland*: which, at your desire, I cannot refuse to return you my sense of also.

The *Authour* is a Stranger to me, but appears to be a man of very excellent parts and *abilities*; and I am sorry he hath been moved to employ them in this particular, in a continued confident declaring the change of opinion in so *Learned and pious a Prelate* (as himselfe worthily styles him,) to whom for ought I know he was a *stranger*, and adding, That what he hath before affirmed to be *upon a just ground and mature deliberation*, and yet I find no other foundation upon which this is built, than the report of others. The frequent experimental *failing* of which, when it comes to the proof, hath wrought it out of reputation, with prudent men, to depend upon.

That which I find in the *conclusion* of his Postscript, I must *begin with*, wherein he doth determine, viz. *That whosoever shall appear*

pear to hold the Negative, That my Lord Primate of Armagh did not declare his rejection of these opinions, which I resist, and which himselfe formerly embraced, will wrong the memory of the Bishop. As I do not (according to his caveat) take upon me to prove a Negative, so I do not understand the ground of this definitive Sentence, upon whomsoever shall adhere to it. I am sure his meaning is not, because *he doth resist them*; and lesse shew is there, because *the Primate had formerly embraced them*; for a changeablenesse in Doctrine carries in it self a shew of dishonour, *that with him there should be yea and nay*: surely there must be somewhat of grosse corruption, or dangerous consequence formerly taught and professed by this good Primate, that should incurre this censure; And it is too early a conclusive, while they are yet in Dispute between you, and the matter not heard on the *Primates* side; Which I expected not from

a person so *ingenuous* ; as I read Master *Pierce* to be. And howsoever the whole implies that the *Primate* had wronged *himselfe* , if not his hearers and readers , in preaching and writing of untruths so long ; but much more if he had died without *retracting* them ; and that the injury done to him , is already decreed to lye upon that person that shall affirm otherwise of him in either : yet this must not deterre or discourage me in this service of his vindication , leaving it to the judgement of others, Which may be thought lesse *injurious* , The averring his *constancy* , or *inconstancy* in matters of such weight and moment. I shall be contented he do enjoy his opinion, if he will not censure me for not forsaking my own , viz. That I think I should wrong him and my selfe , at least do neither right , if I should silently let this belief of him passe without putting it to a stand , by producing those *probabilities* which have prevailed with

with me to the contrary.

That which Mr. pierce professeth, viz. That he published it to the Immortall honour of that great Prelate, doth not well suit with the expressions in the next breath, calling it an error which had possessed him, and intimating it to be a retraction of his aberrations, or a penitency of his sins; which he having no sense of, or not expressing it till then, he must have contracted a great guilt all his life, both in preaching and writing to the subversion, possibly, of many. This if he had found himself guilty of, a verball retraction would not have sufficed, but he should have given satisfaction also by his pen: His judgement having been by that transmitted beyond the Seas. which one Sermon in a Church in London, or opening his mind to a few in private, could not have expiated: neither would so good a man as he, have rested in it, but with S. Augustine humbly have revoked his error in that way also; but I be-

lieve none of those pretended *wit-
nesses of his change* will say that
he gave them that promise or
that they did so much as *request*
it of him, though they had time
enough to have wrote unto him,
if omitted in the conference. And
certainly Mr. Pierce, (to use his
own expression) had in *singleness of
affection* done him more right and
honour, if he had left him wholly
to his works; which do sufficiently
testifie of him, rather than thus to
bring him upon the Stage after his
death, and give sentence on him
onely upon *hear-say*: There being
no necessity in this dispute to have
so much as named him. Neither
can I think those, any Cordial
friends of the Bishops (as he saies
them) who have been the occasi-
on of putting him upon it. And I
do remember that the last time he
was in *London*, he did expresse a
suspition of some that came to vi-
sit him; that they would by *rest-
ing* his words, make some such use
of them, as now appears: who pro-
posed

posed discourses of the like subjects to him, and whereupon he did confirm at full that which had been his judgement of them formerly.

For that of Mr *Pierces* offer of proof by some learned and grave Divines, who had conference with the Bishop, and will (as he saith) be glad to attest the same under their hands: As I know not what cause there should be of gladnesse, or forwardnesse in this Testimony; So when they shall meet with contrary attestations by the like of their own profession, it makes me sad, to foresee what a fire this may possibly kindle among us, (to the rejoycing of those of the Church of Rome) which I have no mind to burn my fingers in, onely I stick firmly to my perswasion in my former Letter confirmed there by several probable Testimonies, that there was no such change as is pretended in him near his death. And if this of Mr. *Pierces* affirmation

should prove to be the raising of a false report, (which he ingenuously confesseth to be so great an evill, and doth so hate and condemne, whether through ignorance, or credulity:) this must be of the first magnitude, when it hath for its object so eminent and pious a person, whose praise being through the Churches, and in special, for those his labours tending to those Subjects, the whole Reformed Church are concerned in it.

I find him still punctually observing his former expression, viz. rejecting all the Doctrines of Geneva, in which besides the latitude, there is this ambiguity, whether it be meant according to Calvin, or Beza; for both were of Geneva; between whom in some of these points there was the like difference as between Mr. Perkins and Bishop Abbot, with us, viz. In the Supralapsarian opinion, which * Beza was for, but Calvin held it otherwise, as hath been shewed in the former Letter. It had been better to have
instanced

* Rom. 9. 21 f.
Annotat. &c.

instanced the particulars of those Doctrines, than thus by *clouding* them in the *Generals* to put us upon *conjectures*, which they should bee.

The *only* point which he names here, is, *That the Primate embraced the Doctrine of Universal Redemption*, and saith, *in that he doth as good as say all*. He doth not assert it from his own knowledge, but saith he hath it from *many most unquestionable persons which had it poured into their eares, by the Primates own mouth*. If it were in a Sermon of his at a Church in *London*, the last he preached in that City, and many moneths before his death; (which I am informed by others is the sense of it) I was present at it, and with me there was no *new thing* observed to have been uttered by him, differing from what his judgement was *many yeares* agoe; since I had the happinesse to be known unto him. It may be some of these persons produced for witnesses being

ing strangers to him and taking him to be of the other extremity might apprehend it as a retraction, If they heard him affirming, That by the death of Christ all men receive this benefit that they are *salvabiles* or put into a capacity of salvation; That terms of peace are procured for all mankind, That all mens sins are become pardonable, mercy attainable, (in which state those of the Angelical nature which fell, are not.) That there is some distinction to be made between his satisfaction (rightly understood) and his intercession, according to that of our Saviour, I pray for these, I pray not for the world, &c. It is possible, for ought I know, some such expressions might be his then. But that by this Universal Redemption should be understood such an Universal grace, that the same measure of it, without any distinction, should equally, and alike, be conferred and applied to Judas, which was to Peter; and that the onely difference, was, The free-will of Peter

ter in accepting, without any further cause of thanks to God for his grace in inclining him accordingly, &c. This I suppose will not be attested to have been professed by him, either in *this*, or any other Sermon, or private conference with him. And in this present enlargement, I would not be understood to interpose my selfe in the controverſie; or to affixe thus much upon Mr. *Pierces* judgement, but only to averre; That the *primate* at his last in this particular differed not from what he had declared formerly, which the former tractate, I suppose, will confirm, now published, but not resolved on, when this was first written.

That which he saith, *is the summe of what he had said*, viz. That the reverend *Primate* did conform his judgement to all the fathers of the Church for the first four Centuries after Christ, This he might averre without any relation to these points in controverſie, it being the term, or thereabouts, which he accepts of in
his

his answer to the *Jesuit Malones Challenge* in the justifying, or condemning those twelve points of controversy, between us and the *Church of Rome*, of which one concerning *Free will* is of this *fraternity*. What the *primates* judgement was of that, is sufficiently declared there, and he continued in the same without any *change* the last time I saw him, by the discourse I had then with him of it: and *S. Augustine* (unlesse we be over-strict) may be admitted within that compasse, being accounted by the *Primate*, at the time when he was consecrated a *Bishop*, to be but in *Anno* 410. and *Prosper* reckons his death, in 433. being then of age, 76. Before whose time these points were never discussed by the *Fathers* at large singly, nor determined by them jointly in any *Council*; which *Pelagius* gave the first occasion of: and 'tis known that the Doctrine of *St. Augustine* against him is inclined unto, and defended by the *Primate* in his works.

And,

And, to say no more, *the Articles of Religion*, Agreed upon by the *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops*, and the rest of the *Clergy of Ireland*, in the *Convocation* holden at *Dublin*, *Anno 1615.* which fully determine and declare all those points accordingly; he had then the honour to be appointed by the *Synode* as a *principal person* to draw them up; Now the last time I saw him (which was after that pretended Testimony of the *witnesses of his change*, either in publick or private) he did fully *confirm* and *commend* them to me to be heeded and observed by me as the *summary of his judgement* in those and other subjects, of which I have said somewhat more, *elsewhere*.

That of Mr. *Piercies* drawing in more to bear him company, *viz.* *King James*, *B. Andrews*, *Melancthon*, in their changes also *for the better*, as he is pleased to derermine; doth not concern me to take notice of: onely if he have found it as their last Will and Testament

A Vindication of the Primate,

stament in their works, he shall but *Charitably erre* (to use his own words) if he should be mistaken; but no such matter appears here, as to the *Primate*.

In a word, I cannot but profess my respect to Mr. Pierce, both for his own worth, as the great esteem which in this *Postscript* (more than in his former book) he hath expressed of this *Eminent Primate*, and can easily believe he would account it a reputation to his opinion, that his might *patronize* it, by the great esteem had of him in all parts of the reformed Church, both for his *learning* and *piety*; and I have so much Charity as to believe that this error is more to be imputed to his *informers* than *himself*, and if I were known to him I would advise him not to *insist* any farther in it, it being by these several circumstances so *improbable*; but, according to his own ingenuous offer, *to make an ample satisfaction*, and what he hath so highly extolled in the *Primate* to have

have been his *glory and honour in preferring truth before error*, in that his supposed imaginary retractation, I may without offence return the *application* to himselfe; which, with all prudent men, will be much more, his own *commendation*, and though, according to his profession, he be *innocent*, as to any voluntary injury; thinking *he did God and him good service*: yet it being a wrong in it selfe, will deserve some *Apology*.

And, indeed, it wil be hard for any prudent *impartial* man to believe, That what the *Primate* upon mature deliberation and long study for so many yeares had professed in the *Pulpit*, and at the *Presse*, he should be so *soon shaken in minde*, as, without any convincing force of argument from any other, that is known, at once *renounce all* he had formerly *said*, and draw a *cross line* over all he had *wrote*; and that in a *Sermon*, not made of *purpose* for that end, (which had been very requisite, and which must have
been

been of too *narrow* a limit in relation to so *many* Subjects here intimated) but onely as on the *bye*; I say, when his *workes* wherein hee is clearly seen and largely declared, with a *cloud of ear-witnesses* for many yeares, both in publick and private, confirming his *constancie* in them, through the diverse *changes* of the times to his last, shall be produced and laid in *one ballance*; And a *few* witnesses of some *few* passages at *one* Sermon, who in a *croud* might be mistaken, and the apter to be so, by the interest of their own opinion; put into the *other*; will not all unbyassed persons cast the *Errata* into the latter? I shall *conclude* with a course complement to your selfe; That I have not thus appeared for your sake, to whom I am a *stranger*, nor out of any *opposition* to Mr. *Pierce*, who appears to me to be a person of *value*: but onely out of my *duty* and high account, I must ever have of the memory of that
judicio

from a late change of Opinión.

65

judicious, holy, and eminent Pri-
mate: and so commit you to Gods
protection and direction, and
rest,

Your assured Friend

N. BERNARD.

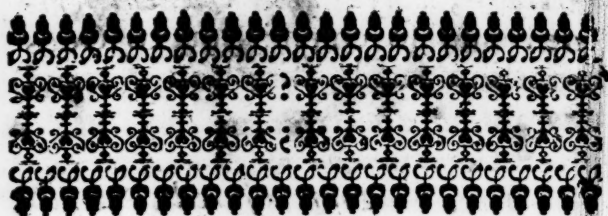
Graves-Inne,

June 10.

1657.

F

A



A
 Learned Letter of the
 late Arch-bishop of *Armagh*
 to Dr. *Twisse*, concerning
 the Sabbath, and obser-
 vation of the
 Lords day.

Worthy Sir,

YOur Letter of the first of *February* came unto my hands the seventh of *April*, but, my journey to *Dublin* following thereupon, and my long stay in the City, (where the multiplicity of my *publick* and *private* employments would scarce afford me a breathing time) was such; that I was forced to defer my *Answer* thereunto, unill

untill this short time of my *retiring* into the Countrey: Where, being now absent also from my *Library*: I can rather signifie unto you, how fully I *concurre* in judgement with those grounds, which you have so *judiciously* laid in that question of the *Sabbath*, than afford any great help unto you in the building, which you intend to raise there-upon. For when I gave my selfe unto the reading of the *Fathers*, I took no heed unto any thing that concerned this *argument*: as little dreaming that any such *controverſie* would have arisen among us. Yet generally I do remember that the word *Sabbatum* in their writings doth denote our *Saturday*: although by Analogy from the manner of speech used by the *Jewes*, the term be sometimes transferred to denote our *Christian festivities* also, as *Sirmondus* the Jesuite observeth; out of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, (lib. 1. Epist. 2.) where, describing the moderation of the Table of *Theodorick*, King of the *Gothes*

Of the Sabbath, and

upon the *Eves*, and the excesses on the *Holy day* following; he writeth of the one, that his *convivium diebus profectis simile privato est*, but of the other. *De luxu autem illo sabbatario narrationi meae supersedendum est, qui nec latentes potest latere personas.* And because the 10th of the fourth Commandement pointeth at the *Sabbath*, as it was in the first institution, the seventh day from the Creation: therefore they held that Christians were not tied to the observance thereof. Whereupon you may observe, that *S. Augustine* in his *speculum* (*in operum tomo 3^o.*) purposely selecting those things which appertained unto us *Christians*; doth wholly pretermitt that precept, in the recital of the Commandements of the Decalogue; Not because the substance of the precept was absolutely abolished: but because it was in some parts held to be * *ceremonial*, & the time afterwards was changed in the state of the New Testament, from the *seventh* to the *first day* of the week: as appeareth by the Author

* Vid. *Augustin. Prefat. in speculum.*

thour of the 25 Sermon, *de Tempore*
 (in 100 tomo *Operum Augustini*;) and
 that place of *Athanasius* in *homil. de*
semente, where he most plainly
 faith, touching the *Sabbath*, *Μετ' ὧν*
κεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν τῆς σαββάτου ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν κυρια-
κὴν. Whereupon *Casarius Arelatensis*
 in his twelfth homily, doubted
 not to preach unto the people. *Verè*
dico, Fratres, satis durum & prope
nimis impium est, ut Christiani non
habeant reverentiam diei Dominico,
quam Judæi observare videntur in
Sabbato, &c. Charles the Great in
 his Lawes, taketh it for granted,
 that our observation of the Lords
 day is founded upon the *Διάβολα* of
 the fourth Commandement. *Statu-*
imus (saith he, ^a *libro 10. Capitula-* ^a *Edit. L'inde-*
rium, cap. 81.) *secundum quod &* ^b *reg. pag. 842.*
in lege Dominus præcepit, ut opera
servilia diebus Dominicis non agan-
tur; sicut & bonæ memoriæ genitor
meus in suis Synodalibus edictis man-
davit: And Lotharius likewise, in
legibus Alemannorum, titulo 38.
^b *Die Dominico nemo opera servilia* ^b *Ibid. pag.*
præsumat facere: quia hoc lex pro- 373.
 F 3 hibuît,

hibuit, & sacra scriptura in omnibus contradicit. Accommodating the Law of God touching the Sabbath unto our observation of the Lords day, by the self-same Analogy; that the Church of *England* now doth in her publick Prayer: *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law.*

The Jewes commonly hold two things touching their Sabbath; as *Menasses Ben-Israel* sheweth in his eighth Probleme, *de creatione*; which be published at *Amsterdam* the last year. First, that the observation thereof was commanded onely unto the *Israelies*, (where he speaketh also of the seven precepts of the sons of *Noah*; which have need to be taken in a large extent, if we will have all the duties that the Heathen were tyed unto to be comprised therein) *Secondly*, that it was observed by the Patriarchs before the coming out of *Egypt*. For that then the observation began, or that the *Israelites* were brought

^a Whether the
Profelyte, or
יְרוּשָׁלַיִם
were tied
thereunto, is
handled in the
Talmud of
Jerusalem,
Seder ירושלמי,
fol. 8.d of my
edition.

brought out of *Egypt*, or the *Egyptians* drowned upon the *Sabbath*; I suppose our good friend Mr. Mead will not be able to evince, either out of ^b*Deut.* 5. 15-^b Compare with *Deut.* 16. 12. 7. or out of any other Scripture whatsoever. And the Text, *Genes.* 2. 3. (as you well note) is so cleare for the ancient institution of the Sabbath, and so fully vindicated by D. Rivet from the exceptions of *Gomarus*; that I see no reason in the earth why any man should make doubt thereof: especially considering withall, that the very *Gentiles*, both *civill* and *barbarous*, both *ancient* and of *latter* dayes, as it were by an universal kind of *tradition*, retained the distinction of the *seven* dayes of the week, which if Dr. Heylin had read, so well proved as it is, by *Rivet* and *Salmasius*, he would not have made such a conclusion as he doth: that because the *Heathen* (of the *four* great *Monarchies* at least) had no distinction of weeks, therefore they could observe no Sabbath; ^{Part. 1. cap. 4. pag. 83, 84. pag. 90.}

whereas he might have found, that the distinction of the dayes of the week did reach *etiam ad ipsos usque Sauromatas*, for even of the *Slavonians* themselves (while they yet continued in their ancient *Paganisme* :) thus writeth *Helmoldus*, *Chronic. Slavor. lib. 1. cap. 84. Illic secundâ feriâ populus terræ cum flamine & regulo, convenire solebant propter judicia*, the same order of the dayes of the week being retained by them, which *Theophilus the old Bishop of Antioch* noteth to have been observed by all mankind, *Ἐπιμν* (saith he, *lib. 2. ad Antolyicum*) καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκδομῆς ἡμέρας, ὡς πάντες μὲν ἀνθρώποι ὀνομάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀγνοοῦσιν ὅτι παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὁ καλεῖται σαββατὸν Ἑβραϊνιστὶ ἐξμεμενένεται ἐκδομῆς) confounding as it seemeth *קדש* with *קדש*, as also doth *Lactantius*, *lib. 7 cap. 14.*) ἥτις εἰς πᾶν ἡμεῖς αἰσθώπων ὀνομάζεται μὲν, δ' ἢ δ' ἀπὸ καλῶν αὐτὴν οὐκ ὀνομάζεται. Wherewith we may joyn that other place of *Johannes Philoponus*, περὶ κοσμοποιίας *Lib. 7. Cap. ult.* Ἐκείνο γὰρ συμπέφυκεται πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα μὴ εἶναι τῆς ἡμέρας

οις αι πρεσ εις εαυτας ανακυκλουμεται τον ελεον ποι-
 οντες χρνον who, with shewing the
 cause thereof, thus shuts up the
 whole work. Μόνον α'τα την α'τιαν του ιε'
 δομαδιν των ημερων δειβμν δεδεν εμπτευδν
 μίνας τοις ανθρωποις αποδιδωκε Μυσης.

We see it ^a almost generally ob-
 served in all Nations, though never
 so farre distant, and strangers one
 to another, that in their reckon-
 ing of Numbers, when they come
 to ten, they return to their Addition
 of 1. 2. and 3. again. If it
 should be demanded, how they
 did all come to agree upon this
 kind of *Arithmetick*; and not some
 place their period at 8. some at
 12. some at 15? I suppose this could
 not be better resolved, than by
 saying they had this by *tradition*
 from the first *Fathers* that lived
 before the disperſion; and that
 this is not an improbable evidence
 of that truth propounded by the
Apostle unto the *Philosophers* of
Athens, Acts 17. 26. that God made
 of one blond all Nations of men to
 dwell

^a The variation
 of some rude A-
 merican break-
 eth here no
 square no more
 than it doth in
 the unskilfull
 reckoning of
 their times.
 [They being
 meer Savages.

dwell on all the face of the Earth. How more when we finde a farre greater agreement among the Nations, in the computation of the seven dayes of the week (the *self-same day*, which is accounted the *first* by *one*, being in like manner reckoned so by *all*; Notwithstanding, that great *variety* of differences: which is betwixt them in the ordering of their *years* and *moneths*;) how much more strongly, I say, may we conclude from hence, that the tradition of the seventh day was not of *Moses*, but of the *Fathers*, and did not begin with the *Common-wealth* of *Israel*, but was derived unto all Nations by lineal descent from the Sons of *Noah*?

Adde hereunto that those *Heathens*, who were *strangers* from the *Common-wealth* of *Israel*, though they made not the seventh day as *Festival* as the *Jews* did; yet did they attribute some *holinesse* to it, and gave it a *peculiar* honour above the *other dayes* of the week; wherein they retained

ed some *Relicks*, and preserved still some clear *foot-steps* of the first institution. *Quinetiam populi jam* * *olim*, saith *Josephus*, (sub fin. lib. 2. contra Apion.) *multum nostram pietatem emulantur: neque est civitas Græcorum ulla usquam aut Barbarorum, nec ulla gens, ad quam septimanæ, in qua vacamus, consuetudo minimè pervenerit; Juniaque & candelabra accensa, &c.* of which Rite of lighting of Candles, or Lamps rather, mention also is made by *Seneca* in his 95th. Epistle: *Accendere aliquam lucernam Sabbathis prohibeamus; quoniam nec lumine Dii egent, & ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine.* And by *Tertullian* lib. 1. ad Nation. cap. 13. where he noteth also those to be the Sabbath observed by the Nations, saying thus unto them. *Qui solem & diem ejus nobis exprobratis, agnoscite vicinitatem: Non longè à Saturno & Sabbathis VESTRIS sumus*, wherein though their devotion were somewhat like

* This word was not well left out by Gomarus, in In-vestigat. p. 123. The Greek, S. Οὐ μὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡδὲ πολὺς ἤδη γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας. ὅθεν εἰνὶ πόλιν Ἑλληνῶν οὐδε τις αὐτῶν βαρβαρῶν, ὅθεν ἐν ἡμεῖς ἔστι μὴ τὸ τῆς εἰσδομαδὸς πλὴν ἀσχοῦμεν ἡμεῖς τὸ εἶδος διαπεροίτηκεν, καὶ αἰνέσειαι, καὶ λυχῶν ἀνακαύσεις, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς βρασίην ἡμῶν νενομισμένων ἔστιται.

of the *Jewes*, (which is all

all that those words of *Josephus* do import; *Multum nostram pietatem emulantur*,) yet that it was not done by any late imitation of them, or with any relation at all to their observance; that other place of *Tertullian* doth seem to evince, in the 16th. Chapter of his *Apologeticum*. *Æquè si diem solis lætitiæ indulgemus, alià longè ratione quàm religione solis*; *secundo loco ab eis sumus qui diem Saturni otio & victui discernunt, exorbitantes & ipsi à Judaico more, a quem ignorant*. And that they did not celebrate their *Satturdayes*, with that solemnity wherewith themselves did their annual festivities, or the *Jewes* their weekly *Sabbaths*, may appear by the words of this same Author, in the 14th. Chapter of his book *de Idololatriâ*, thus speaking unto the Christian, (who observed 52 *Lord dayes* every year, whereas all the annual festivities of the Pagans put together, did come short of fifty.)

a Upon these two words I ground the strength of the Argument: which will hold, notwithstanding the correction of *Gottfriedus*, out of that in *libro*, 1. ad *Nationes* cap. 13. *Quod exorbitantes*

& ipsi à vestris ad alienas religiones.

Ethnicis

Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est; tibi octavo quoque die. Excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum, & in ordinem texe; Pentecosten implere non potuerunt.
And yet, as I said, that they accounted *Saturday* more holy, and requiring more respect from them than the other ordinary dayes of the week, may be seen by that of *Tibullus*, *Eleg. 3. lib. 1.*

Aut ego sum cansatus aves, aut omnia dira.
Saturni SACRA metenuisse die.

And that of *Lucian*, ^a in his *Ἰουδαϊσμός*, of boyes getting leave to play *ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς*, and that of *Ælius Lampridius*, touching *Alexander Severus*, using to go unto the Capitols and other Temples, upon the seventh day. Whereunto we may adde those verses of the ancient Greek Poets, alleadged by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (lib. 5. *Stromat.*) and *Eusebius* (lib. 13. *Præparat. Evangelic.*) which plainly shew that they

^a *Oper. Lucian. Græc. l. 1. pag. 893. edit. Paris. Ann. 1615.*

observation of the Lords day.

they were not ignorant, that the works of Creation were finished on the seventh day, for so much doth that verse of *Linus* intimate.

— Ἑβδομάτῃ δὲ ἡ πετελεσμένα πάντα τέτυκται

And that of *Homer*.

Ἑβδομον ἡμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ πετέλεσο ἅπαντα,

And that of *Callimachus*.

Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἦοι καὶ οἱ πτόκοντο ἅπαντα.

The *Israelites*, by the Law of *Moses*, were not only to observe their weekly Sabbath every seventh day, but also their *feast of weeks* once in the year: Which although by the *vulgar use* of the *Jewish* nation it may now fall upon any day of the week, yet do the *samaritans* untill this day constantly observe it on the first day of the week; which is our *Sunday*, For which they produce the Letter of the Law, *Levit. 23. 15, 16.* where the *feast of the first fruits* (otherwise called *Pentecost*, or the *feast of weeks*) is prescribed to be kept

kept the morrow after the seventh Sabbath ; which not they onely, but also amongst our Christian Interpreters, *Isychius* and *Rupertus* do interpret to be the first day of the week. *Planius*, saith *Isychius*, *Isych. lib. 6. in*
Legislator intentionem suam demon- *Levit. cap. 23.*
strare volens, ab altero die Sabbati *Vid. Lidya. De*
memorari præcepit quinquaginta dies: *variis annorum*
formis, cap. 5.

Dominicum diem proculdubio volens intelligi. Hic enim est altera dies Sabbati, (in hac enim resurrectio facta est) qua hebdomada numerantur septem, usque ad alterum diem expletionis hebdomadae. Dominica rursus die Pentecostes celebramus festivitatem, in qua Sancti Spiritus adventum meruimus. ^a Where you may observe by the way, that although this Authour made a little bold to strain the signification of *altera dies Sabbati*, (which in *Moses* denoteth no more than the morrow after the Sabbath) yet he maketh no scruple to call the day of Christs Resurrection another Sabbath day, as in the Councel of *Friuli* also (If I greatly mistake not the matter)

^a i. Consecrati sumus, (juxta usum loquendi veterum.)

Concil. Foro-Julienf. cap. 13.

ter) you shall find Saturday called by the name of *Sabbatum ultimum* and the Lords day of *Sabbatum primum*, (with some allusion perhaps to that of St. Ambrose, in *Psal. 47. Ubi Dominica dies capit præcellere, quâ Dominus resurrexit; Sabbatum, quod primum erat secundum haberi capit à primo*,) not much unlike unto that, which Dr. ^b Heylin himself noteth out of *Caliger* of the *Æthiopian* Christians; that they call both of them by the name of *Sabbaths*: the one the first, the other the latter Sabbath; or in their own Language, the one *Sanbath sachristos*, (i. e.) Christs Sabbath, the other *Sanbath Judi*, or the Jews Sabbath.

^b Part. 2. cap. 2.
pag. 19. 1.

But touching the old *Penteco?* it is very considerable, that it is no where in *Moses* affixed unto any one certain day of the moneth, as all the rest of the feasts are: which is a very great *presumption*, that it was a moveable feast, and so *varied*, that it might alwayes fall upon the day immediately following

^c Ag. inst. Do-
&or Heylin,
part 2. cap. 1.
pag. 14.

lowing the ordinary Sabbath. And if God so order the matter; that in the celebration of the *feast of weeks* the *seventh* should purposely be *passed over*, and that solemnity should be kept upon the *first*: what other thing may we imagine could be præsignified thereby, but that under the State of the *Gospel* the solemnity of the weekly service should be celebrated upon *that day*? That on *that day* the famous Pentecost in *the 2. of the Acts* was observed, is in a manner generally acknowledged by all: *wherein the truth* of all those that went before being accomplished, we may observe *the type and the verity*, concurring together in a wonderful manner. At the time of the *Passover Christ our Passover* was slain for us: the whole *Sabbath* fol-^{1 Cor. 5. 7.} lowing he rested in the grave. The *next day* after that Sabbath, the *morning*, or sheaf of the *first fruits* of^{Levit. 23. 10,} *the first* (or *barly*) Harvest was offered unto God; and Christ rose from the dead, and became the *first* fruits

1 Cor. 15. 20. *fruits of them that slept; many bo-*
 Matth. 27. 52. *dies of the Saints that slept, arising*
 53. *likewise after him. From thence*
 Levit. 23. 15, 16, 17. *was the count taken of the seven*
Sabbaths; and upon the more af-
ter the seventh Sabbath (which was
our Lords day) was celebrated the
feast of weeks, the day of the first
 Numb. 28. 26. *fruits of the second (or wheat) Har-*
 Exod. 34. 22. *vest: upon which day the Apostles*
having themselves received the first
fruits of the spirit, begat three
thousand Soules with the word of
truth, and presented them as the
 Acts 2. 1, 4, 5, 41. *first fruits of the Christian Church*
 Jam. 1. 18. *unto God, and unto the Lamb.*
 Revel. 14. 4. *And from that time forward doth*
Waldensis note that the Lords day
was observed in the Christian
Church in the place of the Sab-
bath. Quia inter legalia (saith he)
tunc sublata Sabbati custodia fuit
unum, planum est tunc intrasse Do-
 Thom. Wal- *minicam loco ejus: sicut Baptisma*
 dens. Doctri- *statim loco Circumcisionis. Adbuc*
 nal. Tom. 3. *enim superstes erat sanctus Johan-*
 Tit. 16. c. 140. *nes, qui diceret: Et fui in spiritu*
die Dominicâ, Apocal. 1. cum de
Domi-

Dominicâ die ante Christi Resurrection nulla prorsus mentio haberetur. Sed statim post missionem Spiritus sancti, lege novâ fulgente, in humano cultu sublatum est Sabbatum; & dies Dominicæ Resurrectionis clarescebat Dominica.

The Revelation exhibited unto Revel. 7. 10. St. John upon the Lords day; is by Irenæus (in his fifth book) referred unto the Empire of Domitian, or, as S. Hierome in his Catalogue more particularly doth expresse it, to the fourth yeare of his Reigne: Which answereth partly to the forty ninth, and partly to the ninty fifth year of our Lord, according to our vulgar computation; and was but eleven or twelve yeares before the time, when Ignatius did write his Epistles. Of whom then should we more certainly learn, what the Apostle meant by the Lords day, then from Ignatius? who was by the Apo- AÆSIL. 26. stles themselves ordained Bishop of that Church, wherein the Disciples were first called Christians;

and in his Epistle to the *Magnesi-
ans* clearly maketh the Lords day
to be a weekly holy day, obser-
ved by *Christians*, in the room of
the abrogated Sabbath of the *Jews*:
than which, can we desire more?
But here you are to know, be-
side the common edition, wherein
the *genuine Epistles of Ignatius* are
fouly depraved by a number of *beg-
garly* patches added unto his *pur-
ple* by later hands; there is an an-
cient *Latine* translation to bee
found in the Library of *Caies Col-
ledge in Cambridge*; which, al-
though it be very rude, and cor-
rupt both in many other, and in
this very same place also of the E-
pistle to the *Magnesiens*; yet is it
free from these *additaments*, and
in many respects to be preferred
before the common *Greek* Copy, as
well because it agreeth with the Ci-
tations of *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, and
Theodoret, and hath the sentences
vouched by them out of *Ignatius*
(and particularly that of the *Eucha-
rist*, in the Epistle to the *Smyrniens*)
which

which are not at all to be found in our Greek; and hath in a manner none of all those places in the *true* Epistles of *Ignatius*, against which exception hath been taken by our Divines: which addeth great strength to those exceptions of theirs, and sheweth that they were not made without good cause. Now in this Translation there is nothing to be found touching the *Sabbath*, and the Lords day in the Epistle to the *Magnesiens*, but these words only. *Non amplius sabbatizantes, sed secundum Dominicam viventes, in qua, & vita nostra orta est*; whereunto these of our common *Greeke* may be made answerable. *Μηκέτι οὐν*

σαββαρίζομεν ἀλλ' ἀφορτάζομεν τὴν Κυριακὴν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν. all those other words alleadged by Dr. Heylin, (part. 2. pag. 43.) to prove that *Ignatius* would have both the *Sabbath* and the *Lords day* observed, being afterwards added by some later Grecian; who was afraid that the custome of keeping both dayes observed in his time should appear

It may be the three first syllables of this word were wanting in the Greek Copy, which the Translator used; & thence came his *viventes*.

otherwise to be directly opposite to the sentence of *Ignatius*, whereas his main intention was to oppose the *Ebionites* of his owne time: who, as *Eusebius* witnesseth in the third book of his Ecclesiasticall History, did both keep the Sabbath with the Jewes, and also

ταῖς κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν τὴν ἀγαλλήστειαν εἰς μνημὸν τοῦ σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως τέλει. By whose imitation of the Church herein, the antiquity of the observation of the Lords day may be further confirmed: *Ebion* being known to have been *St. Paul's Antagonist*; and to have given out of himself, that he was one of those that brought the prices of their goods, and laid them down at the Apostles feet: as the universality of the observance may be gathered by the argument drawn from thence by *Eusebius* towards the end of his Oration of the praises of *Constantine*) to prove the pre-eminency of our Saviour Christ, above all the gods of the Heavens: because this prescript of his touching the celebration of this day

was

was admitted and submitted unto, not within the Dominions of Constantine onely, but also throughout the compasse of the whole world.

* *Quis n.* (saith he) *cunctis totius orbis terrarum incobis, seu terra seu mari illi sint, præscripserit ut singulis septimanis in unum convenientes diem Dominicum festum celebrarent; instituentque ut sicut corpora pascere cibariis, sic animos Divinis Disciplinis reficerent?*

We see then that the Doctrine, which the true Ignatius received immediately from the hands of the Apostles, was the very same with that was delivered by the Fathers of the Council of Laodicea, about 250 years after, (for the profs produced by the Authours, to whom my a Lord of Eli, pag. 73. refereth us, for having it to be held before the first Nicene, are nothing worth.) *Non oportet Christianos Judaizare & in Sabbatho otiari; sed ipsos eo die operari, diem autem dominicum præferentes otiari (si modo possint) ut Christianos:*

G 4

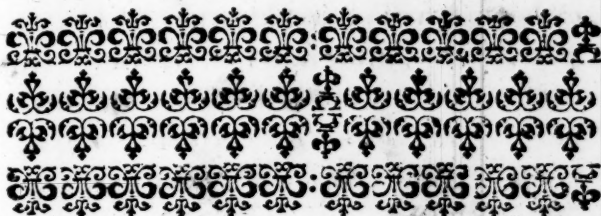
the

* Τὸς τοῖς το
μέγα σοι χεῖς
τῶν ὁμοίων,
τοῖς τε κατὰ
γῆν ἔτις τε
κατὰ θάλασσαν,
ἐφ' ἐκά-
στης ἐβδόμης
δὲ τῶν Κυ-
ριακῶν ἡμέ-
ρας πᾶσι
ἐπὶ ταῦτο συ-
ντάς παρα-
δέδωκε καὶ
αὐτὰ σάββατα
παύειν, τὰς δὲ
Κυριακὰς ἐν δει-
οῖς παιδεύμα-
σιν, ἀναξω-
πυεῖν ἐπαγα-
γεῖν αὐτοὺς.

a D. White.

the contrary whereunto Pope Gregory the first (in Registr. lib. 11. Epist. 3. esteemeth to bee the Doctrine of the Preachers of Antichrist: *qui veniens, diem Dominicum & Sabbatum ab omni opere faciet custodiri*: which my Lord of Eli, pag. 219.) rendreth; upon the old Sabbath-day, or upon the Sunday: by a strange kinde of mistake turning the copulative into a disjunctive.

A Letter



*A Letter of Doctor Twisse
to the Lord Primate, thanking him
for the former Letter, and his Book*

de primordiis, Brit. Eccles. The

History of Goteschalvus, &c.

where the honour and respect

he gives him is exemplary,

unto others.

Most Reverend Father in God,

I was very glad to hear of your
Grace his coming over into Eng-
land; and now I have a faire op-
portunity to expresse my thankfull
acknowledgement of that great fa-
vour wherewith you were pleased
to honour me, in bestowing one of
your books upon me, *de origine
Britannicarum Ecclesiarum*; which I
received

received from Sir *Benjamin Rudierd* in your *Grace* his name, about the end of Summer last, wherein I do observe not onely your *great learning and various reading* manifested at full, but your singular *wisdom* also in reference to the necessitous condition of these times; taking so fair an occasion to insert therein, the *History of the Pelagian Heresie*, so opportunely coming in your way. Your *History of Goteschal-cus* was a piece of the like nature, which came forth most seasonably; we know what meetings there were in *London* thereupon by some; and to what end, to relieve the reputation of *Vossius*, who laboured not a little when he was discovered to have alleadged the *confession of Pelagius*, for the *confession of Austin*: As also in fathering upon the *Adrametine Monkes*, the Original of the *Prædestinarian Heresie*: I was at that time upon answering *Corvinus* his defence of *Arminius*, and had dispatcht one digression upon the same argument,
and

and in the issue concluded that it was but a trick of the *Pelagians* to cast the Nick-name of the *Prædestinarian* Hereſie, upon the Orthodox Doctrine of St. *Auſtine*: But upon the coming forth of your *Goteſcalcus*, I was not onely confirmed therein, but upon better, and more evident grounds, enabled in a ſecond digreſſion to meet with the *Diſtates* of——who endeavoured to juſtifie the conceit of *Voffius*, but upon very weak grounds. Thus I have obſerved with comfort the hand of God to have gone along with your *Grace*, for the honouring of the cauſe of his truth, in ſo precious a point as is the glory of his *Grace*. And I nothing doubt, but the ſame *hand of our good God* will be with you ſtill, and his wiſdome will appear in all things you undertake, whether of your own choice, or upon the motion of others: There being never more need, of hearkening unto, and putting in practice our Saviours rule, Be ye wiſe as Serpents, and
innocent

innocent as Doves. And have I not as great cause to return your *Grace* most hearty thanks, for the *kind Letters* I received in answer to the motions I was emboldned to make; had it been but onely to signifie the great *satisfaction* I received thereby in divers particulars, but especially in two principal ones; the one, the mystery of the *feasts of first fruits* opened to the singular advantage of the *honour of the Lords day* in the time of the Gospel, the other, in correcting *Ignatius* by a Latine Manuscript of *Caies Colledge*; which since I have gotten into my hands, and taken a Copy thereof, and have caused it to be compared with two other Copies, Manuscripts in *Oxford*, the one in *Magdalene*, the other in *Baliol Colledge Library*; I take no small comfort in the hope I conceive of seeing your *Grace* before your departure into *Ireland*, I heare of a purpose your *Grace* hath to see *Oxford*, and abide some time there, the Lord blesse you, and keep you,

you, and make his face to shine
upon you.

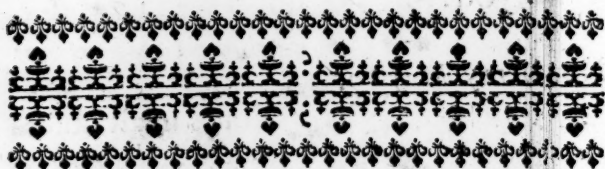
Newberry May 29.
1640.

Yours in all obser-
vance, *desiring to*
fit at your Grace
his feet.

WILLIAM TWISSE.

Mr. *Chambers* of *Clouford* by *Bath*,
hath long ago answered Dr. *Hey-*
lines History of the Sabbath, but
knowes not how to have it
printed.

A



*A Clause in a Letter of the
Primates, to Mr. Ley,
of the Sabbath.*

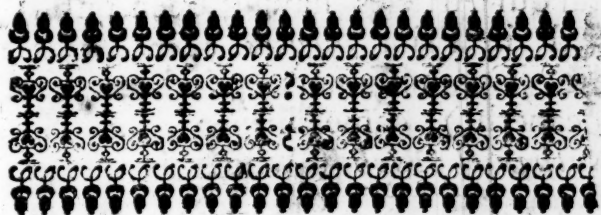
FOR mine own part, I never yet
doubted but took it for granted;
that as the setting of some
whole day apart for Gods solempne
Worship was *juris Divini naturalis*,
so that this solempne day should
be one in seven, was *juris Divini
positivi*, recorded in the fourth Com-
mandement. And such a *jus divinum
positivum*, here I mean, as *Baptisme*
and the *Lords Supper* are established,
both which lie not in the power of
any man, or Angel to change, or
alter, wherein me thinks, your se-
cond position is a little too wate-
rish, viz. That this Doctrine ra-
ther

ther then the contrary is to be held the Doctrine of the Church of England; And may well be gathered out of her publick liturgy, and the first part of the Homily concerning the place, and time of prayer. Whereas, you should have said that this is to be held undoubtedly the Doctrine of the Church of England. For if there could be any reasonable doubt made of the meaning of the Church of England in her Liturgy, who should better declare her meaning, than self in her Homily? where she peremptorily declareth her minde. That in the fourth Commandment God hath given expresse charge to all men, that upon the Sabbath day, which is now our Sunday, they should cease from all weekly and work-day labour, to the intent, that like as God himself wrought six dayes, and rested the seventh, blessed and sanctified it, and consecrated it to rest, and quietnesse from labour, even so Gods obedient people should use the Sunday holily, and rest from their common, and daily businesse,
and

a Mr. Hely of
Perry.

and also give themselves wholly to heavenly exercises of Gods true Religion and service ; Than which, what could you devise to say more your self? For the further maintenance of which Doctrine, I send you herewith a Treatise, written by a learned man (now with God) against *Theophilus Brabourn* ; who gave occasion to the raising up of these *unhappy* broiles ; which, if it may any way conduce to the furtherance of your more exact Treatise, &c. I shall be very glad, and be ready to, &c.

Part



*Part of a Letter of the Pri-
mates, to an Honourable person,
not long after the coming forth of
Doctor Heylins book. of the Hi-
story of the Sabbath, which I found
wrote in the same Paper
with the former.*

AS for Dr. Heylins *a relation*, ^{a Hist. of the} concerning our *Articles of Ire-* ^{Sabbath. part. 2.}
land, it is much *mistaken.* ^{cap. 8.}

For first where he saith, they did
passe when his *Majesties Commissio-
ners* were imployed about the set-
ling of the Church, Anno 1615.
and chargeth them with *this strict
austerity* (as he termeth it) in the
prescript observation of the *Lords
day*, he sheweth himself very *cre-
dulous*, there having been no such

H

Commissi-

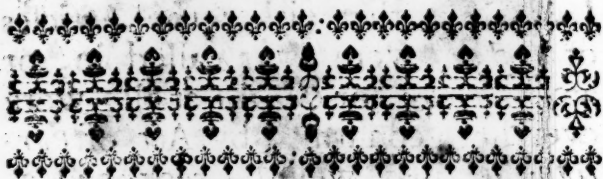
Commissioners here at that time, and our Articles having been published in Print *divers years before* the Commissioners (whom hee meaneth) came hither, as Sir Nathaniel Rich (who was one of them himself) can sufficiently inform you. Secondly, where he saith, he is sure, *that till that time the Lords day had never attained such credit as to be thought an Article of the faith*, he speaks very inconsiderately. Hee that would confound the ten *Commandements* (whereof this must be accounted for one, unlesse he will leave us but nine) with the *Articles of the faith*, he had need be put to learn his Catechisme again: And he that would have every thing, which is put into the *Articles of Religion* (agreed upon in the Synod for the *avoyding of diversity of opinions, and for the maintenance of peace, and uniformity in the Church*) to be held for an *Article of the faith*, should do well to tell us whether hee hath as yet admitted
the

the Book of the ordination of Bishops, and the two volumes of Homilies into his Creed, for sure I am he shall find these received in the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in the Synod held at London, 1562. To which Doctor Heylen himself having subscribed, I wonder how he can oppose the conclusion, which he findeth directly laid down in the Homily of the time and place of prayer in the fourth Commandment, viz. God hath given expresse charge to all men that upon the Sabbath-day which is now our Sunday (for these are the plain words of the Homily, which the Doctor with all his Sophistry will never be able to elude) they shall cease from all weekly, and week-day labour, to the intent that like as God himself wrought six dayes, and rested the seventh, and blessed, and consecrated it to quietnesse, and rest from labour, even so Gods obedient people should use the Sunday holily, and rest from their common and daily businessse, and also give themselves

^a These two here instanced were not by way of diminution, for he did highly approve of both, as being excellent compositions, but because they are either for the most part to be reckoned among the Agenda, rather then the Credenda, or that in both there are some circumstantialis observed, and exhorted unto, only for decency and order, according to the wisdom of the Church, which come not within the compasse of the Creed, as upon the view of them, without descending to particulars, may easily appear.

selves wholly to the heavenly exercises of Gods true Religion and service. By the verdict of the Church of England; I am sure the Lords day had obtained such a pitch of credit, as nothing more could be left to the Church of Ireland in their Articles, afterward to adde unto it. Thirdly, he shameth not to affirm, That *the whole Book of the Articles of Ireland is now called, in* (which is a notorious untruth.) And lastly, that *the Articles of the Church of England, were confirmed by Parliament in this Kingdome, Anno 1634.* where it is well known that they were not so much as once *propounded* to either House of Parliament, or ever *intended* to be propounded. The truth is, that the House of Convocation in the beginning of their Canons, *for the manifestation of their agreement with the Church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments* (as they themselves professe) and for no other end in the world, did receive
and

and approve of the Articles of *England*; but that either the Articles of *Ireland* were ever called in, or any *Articles*, or *Canons* at all, were ever here confirmed by Act of *Parliament*, may well be reckoned among Doctor *Heylins* fancies. Which shews what little credit he deserves in his *Geography*, when he brings us newes of the *remote* parts of the world, that tells us so many untruths of things so *lately*, and so *publickly* acted in his *Neighbour Nation*.



*A Confirmation of the
latter clause in this Letter of the
Primates, viz. That the Articles of
Ireland (determining the obser-
vation of the Lords day) were
not called in Anno 1634.
as Doctor Heylin
hath affirmed.*

DOCTOR Heylin, under the mask
of an Observator hath been
already offended with me,
for joyning in a *Certificate* against
what he hath related concerning the
abrogating of the Articles of Ireland,
which was done by the *command*
of this most Reverend *Prioste* in
his *life* time, and since that,
he hath been much more; for
my saying in his Funeral Sermon,
Some had rashly affirmed it, and
that

that some such presumptuous affections have been lately published, and stiling that person a presumptuous (I may say also uncharitable) observator, that should presume to enter into the Lord Primates breast, and aver that the *abrogating* of them (to use his own term) was the caule of his carrying a sharp tooth, bearing a grudge (and that a mortal one) towards the L. Lieutenant Strafford. The Language with which throughout he pleaseth himselfe, might have been easily returned, but in regard such *pen-combats* are unseasonable, and unfitting betweene those of the same profession (onely gratefull to the adversary of both) I have left it to the *prudence* of a third person, who hath a convenient opportunity in his History to clear the whole, in the examination and *moderation* of all the passages between Mr. L. Strange and him.

Onely thus much upon this occasion, the observator is pleased to give me a share in his Title-page,

calling it a rescue from the *back-blows* of Dr. Bernard; Indeed as to the person smitten, if they were any, they could be *no other*, for he then *turned the back, and not the face*, being an *Anonymus*, and so appearing in that *disguise*, I might be excused as he was that smote a *Clergy man*, riding without his *Priestly habit*; A man that walks in the dark, may meet with a *knock* by such as *mean him no harm*. And indeed the apprehension of the Authours *disaffection* so much expressed to this *Eminent, and pious Primate* in the endeavours thus to *blemish him*, (whom the *whole reformed Church* hath an high esteem of,) gave it suspected, both to my self, and others to have been some *Jesuit*, or *Agent of the Sea of Rome*, though as yet, not any one (as I hear of) hath *moved his tongue against that true Israelite at his Exit hence*, and I am sorry to see his sole *enemies to be those of his own house*, and profession.

But for the *confirmation* of what
is

is here affirmed by the *Primate*, that the *Articles of Ireland* were not called in, though his above-mentioned Letter is *sufficient* to all uninterested persons, yet for the *Readers* more full satisfaction, I shall give you a brief *Narrative* of the whole matter, being then a Member of that Convocation.

First in the *House of the Clergy*, which was then in the *Cathedrall of St. Patricks Dublin*, there was a motion made for the *reception anew* of the *Articles of Ireland*, and all unanimous were for the *affirmative*, excepting *two*, who went out. Another time the whole house of the *Clergy* being called into the *Quire*, where the *Bishops* sate, and the same thing again *propounded* to them, they all stuck to their former vote, excepting *seven*. The intent of the whole *Clergy* being by this sufficiently understood, and it appearing, there was no need of any such *confirmation*, having been An. 1615. fully and formally established, (*viz.* signed by *Arch-Bishop Jones*, Chancellor

celour of *Ireland*, and then *Speaker* of the House of the Bishops in Convocation, by the *Prolocutor* of the House of the Clergy in their names, and signed by the then *Lord Deputy Chichester*, (by order from *King James* in his name) that motion was no more repeated, onely the *Primate* was consulted with, concerning the approving and receiving of the Articles of *England* also, to which he readily consented, there being no substantial difference between them, to which he had subscribed himself voluntarily, long before in *England*, and conceiving it to be without any prejudice to the other.

Hereupon the *first Canon* (being all that was done in relation to them) was drawn up, the *Primate* approved it, and proposed it selfe (as *President* of the *Synod*) in the House of the Bishops, commended it to the House of the Clergy, where by his motion many assented the more readily, they all gave their Votes, *man by man*, excepting one

one person, who suspended his, out of the *suspition* that some might make that construction, which is the *observers* conclusion.

Now the chief argument, which the *observer* (if I may not call him Dr. *Heylin*) spends himself upon, is from what he hath *picked* out of the words of the Canon, where they do not onely *approve*, but *receive* the Articles of *England*, from thence he inferres a *superinducing* of those, and so an *abrogating* of these of *Ireland*.

But I answer, there was not a reception of the one *instead* of the other, but the *one with the other*, and there being no difference in *substance*, but onely in *method* number of subjects determined, and other *circumstantials*, it argues no more an abrogation than that doth of the *Apostles Creed*, by our reception of the *Nicene Creed* and *Athanasius's*, wherein some points are more *enlarged*, or that the reception into our use the form of the *Lords Prayer*, according to Saint

Saint *Matthem*, abrogates that of Saint *Luke*, being the *shorter*; Neither do I see, but if for the *manifestation* of our *Union* with *other reformed Churches*; We should *approve* and *receive* their *Articles* of Religion, and they receive *ours*, it were no abrogating of *either*. And the *difference* in them being onely in *circumstantials*, and not in substance, all might be called *one confession*, That as of *many Seas* *one Ocean*, of *many National Churches* *one Catholick Church*, so of *many forms* of *Confessions*, but *one faith* amongst them.

That Argument from the Apostles speech of *making void the old Covenant* by *speaking of a new*, or taking in the *first* day of the week to be the *Sabbath*, instead of the *last*, when but one of the seven was to be kept, doth not fit the case: for in these there was a *super-induction*, and reception of the one for the other: but in the *Canon*, the *Articles* of *England* are received not *instead*, but *with* those of *Ireland*.

Ireland. And that it was the sense then apprehended, not only by the *Primate*, but by the other *Bishops* (at least divers of them) appears in this, That afterwards at an *Ordination* they took the *subscription* of the party ordained to both Articles. And for further confirmation of this I shall give you the sense of a *most eminent, learned, and judicious* person, upon the view of what the *observator rescued* had written of it, *I have received* (sayes he) the book you sent me, and have perused it; I see he will have the allowance of our Articles of *England*, by the Synod in *Ireland*, to be a virtual disanulling of the *Irish* Confession; which (I conceive) saith no more, but, That both Confessions were consistent; And the Act of that Synod not a revocation of the *Irish* Articles, but an approbation of ours, as agreeing with them; He hath his slings at your Sermon, Preached at the Lord *Primates* Funeral, but in truth, he wrongs himself and our Church in those detractions from him.



A Letter of the late Arch-Bishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, to Doctor Bernard of Grayes Inne, containing his judgement of the ordination of the Ministry in France and Holland.

I Received this following Letter from the late *Arch-Bishop of Armagh*, not long before his death, which (at the desire of some *prudent men*, and of *different* opinion in the subject of it) I have been moved to *publish*, which indeed was *committed* to me by him for that *end*, and I do it the rather *now*, in regard somewhat hath been *mistaken* in the discourse of it, to his prejudice on *both sides*: So that without *breach of trust* I could no longer detain it. The *occasion* of it was this, there was given
me

me by an *Honourable person* a writing, containing a report raised of the said *Arch-Bishop* concerning his judgement of the ordination beyond the Sea, which he prayed me to send unto him, which is as followeth: “Mr. ——— asked the *Arch-bishop* of *Armagh*, upon occasion of an ordination, what he thought of them that were ordained by Presbyters? he said he judged their ordination to be null, and looked on them as Lay-men. He asked him, what he conceived of the Churches beyond the Sea. The Bishop answered, he had charitable thoughts of them in *France*. But as for *Holland*, he questioned if there was a Church amongst them, or not: or words fully to that purpose. This Dr. ——— confidently reports. This paper according to the earnest desire of the said person, I sent inclosed to the Lord Primate, being then out of Town, from whom immediately I received this answer, containing his judgement of the ordination of the Ministry

Ministry of the reformed Churches
in France, and Holland, as fol-
loweth.

“Touching Mr.——I cannot call
“to mind that he ever proposed unto
“me the Questions in your Letter in-
“closed, neither do I know the Doctor
“-----who hath spread that report; But
“for the matter it self, I have ever
“declared my opinion to be, That
“*Episcopus & Presbyter, gradu tan-*
“*tum differunt, non ordine*; and
“consequently, that in places where
“Bishops cannot be had, the ordi-
“nation by Presbyters standeth va-
“lid, yet on the other side holding
“as I do, that a Bishop hath supe-
“riority in degree above a Presby-
“ter, you may easily judge that the
“ordination made by such Presby-
“ters, as have severed themselves
“from those Bishops, unto whom
“they had sworne Canonical obedi-
“ence, cannot possibly by me be
“excused from being Schismatical;
“And howsoever, I must needs
“think that the Churches, which
“have no Bishops, are thereby be-
come

“come very much defective in their
“Government, and that the Churches in *France*, who, living under
“a Popish power, cannot do what
“they would, are more excusable
“in this defect than the Low-Coun-
“tries that live under a free State:
“yet for the testifying my Commu-
“nion with these Churches (which I
“do love and honour as true Mem-
“bers of the Church Universal.) I
“do professe that with like affe-
“ction, I should receive the bles-
“sed Sacrament at the hands of the
“*Dutch* Ministers, if I were in *Hol-*
“*land*, as I should do at the hands
“of the *French* Ministers, if I were
“in *Charentone*.

I Some

Some Animadvertisements
upon the aforesaid Letter, in pre-
vention of any misinterpre-
tations of it.

1. **W**Hereas in the former part of it, he saith, *he hath ever declared his opinion to be, &c.* I can witnesse it from the time I have had the happinesse to be known to him, it being not (as some possibly might suggest) a change of judgement upon the occurrences of latter years.

2. For that *superiority onely in degree; which, he saith, a Bishop hath above a Presbyter,* it is not to be understood as an arbitrary matter at the pleasure of men, but that he held it to be of *Apostolical institution*, and no more a *diminution* of the preheminencie and authority of *Episcopacy*, than the denomina-
tion

tion of *lights* given in common by *Moses*, to all of them in the *firmament* (Genes. 1.) detracts from the *Sun & Moon*, whom he calls the *greater*, and were assigned of God to have the rule of the rest; though the difference between them be onely *graduall*, yet there is a *derivative subordination*, as the preheminance of the *first-born*, was but *graduall*, they were all *brethren*, but to him was given of God the *excellency*, or supremacy of *Dignity and power*, to him they must *bow*, or be *subject*, and he must have the rule over them: And that this *gradus* is both derived from the *pattern prescribed by God in the Old Testament* (where that distinction is found in the Title of the *Chief Priest*, who had the rule of the rest, called by the LXX *ἐπίσκοπος*) and from the *imitation thereof brought in by the Apostles*, and confirmed by *Christ in the time of the New*; The *Primate* hath so fully confirmed in that learned *Tractate* of his, of the *Originall of Bishops*, which he hath deduced

Of ordination by Presbyters:

from the *Apostolicall* times; that I know not what can be added; And even for that higher *gradus* of a *Metropolitan*, or Arch-Bishop, to have been also *Apostolicall*, he hath; from the *superscription* of John, to the *seven Churches*, (each of which *Cities* being *Metropolitica*, and the *rest of the Cities of Asia daughters under them*) given very strong probabilities, hard to be gain-said; unto which (as an excellent comment upon this *Letter*) I shall refer the Reader.

3. "That in this judgement of
 " his he was *not singular*; Doct^r
 " *Davenant*, that pious, and Lear-
 " ned Bishop of *Salisbury*, consents
 " with him in it. (in his *determinati-*
 " *ons*, q. 42. produceth the princi-
 " pal pf the Schoolmen, *Gulielmus*
 " *Parisiensis*, *Gerson*, *Durand*, &c.
 " *Episcopatus non est ordo præcisè*
 " *distinctus à sacerdotio simplici, &c.*
 " *non est alia potestas ordinis in Epif-*
 " *copis quam Presbyteris, sed inest*
 " *modo perfectiori. And declares it*
 " *to be the generall opinion of the*
 " *School-*

“ *Schoolmen.* Episcopatum ut distin-
 “ guitur à simplici sacerdotio non
 “ non esse alium ordinem; sed emi-
 “ nentiorē quandam potestatem &
 “ dignitatem in eodem ordine sa-
 “ cerdotali, &c. *And as he grants*
 “ *the Bishop to have dignitatem altio-*
 “ *rem, potestatem majorem, &c.*
 “ *so doth the Primate in that he saith*
 “ *he hath a superiority in degree a-*
 “ *bove a Presbyter, and that the*
 “ *Churches which have no Bishops,*
 “ *are thereby become very much*
 “ *defective in their Government;*
 “ *Both of them being farre from a*
 “ *parity.*

“ *And whereas the Primate saith,*
 “ *That in cases of necessity, where*
 “ *Bishops cannot be had, the Or-*
 “ *ordination by Presbyters standeth va-*
 “ *lid, Bishop Davenaut concurreth with*
 “ *him also: That where Bishops were*
 “ *Heretical, or idolatrous, and re-*
 “ *fuse to ordain Orthodox Ministers,*
 “ *that in such and the like cases he*
 “ *saith: Si Orthodoxi Presbyteri*
 “ *(ne pereat Ecclesia) alios Presby-*
 “ *teros cogantur ordinare, ego non*

Of ordination by Presbyters.

“ ausim hujusmodi ordinationes pro-
 “ nuntiare irritas, & innanes, &c.
 “ Necessitas non inicitè lex tempo-
 “ ris appellatur, & in tali casu de-
 “ fendat id ad quod coegit, *and pro-*
 “ *duceth the opinion of* Richardus
 “ Armachanus (*one of this Primates*
 “ *Predecessors, and one of the most*
 “ *Learned men in his time*) to be ac-
 “ cordingly. Armachani opinio est,
 “ quod si omnes Episcopi essent de-
 “ functi, sacerdotes minores possunt
 “ ordinare, & *applies it to the like Pro-*
 “ *testant Churches, which the Primate*
 “ *mentions.* Hac freti necessitate si
 “ Ecclesiæ quædam protestantium quæ
 “ ordinationes ab Episcopis Papistis
 “ expectare non poterant consensu
 “ Presbyterorum suorum Presbyte-
 “ ros ordinarunt, non inde Episco-
 “ pali dignitati præjudicasse, sed ne-
 “ cessitati Ecclesiæ obtemperasse ju-
 “ dicandi sint, *Thus much for Bishop*
 “ *Davenants concurrence, to which*
 “ *divers others might be added, as*
 “ *in speciall,* Doctor Richard Field
 “ *sometimes Dean of Gloucester, in*
 “ *his Dearned Book of the Church,*
 lib.

“*lib. 3. cap. 39. and lib. 5. cap. 27.*
“*where this judgement of the Pri-*
“*mates, and this concurrence of Bi-*
“*shop Davenants is largely confirm-*
“*ed, without the least derogation*
“*from the preheminencie of Epis-*
“*copacy.*

“*But that book entituled, The de-*
“*fence of the Ordination of the Mi-*
“*nisters of the reformed Churches*
“*beyond the Seas maintained by Mr.*
“*Arch-Deacon Mason, against the*
“*Romanists (who wrote also a defence*
“*of Episcopacy, and of the Mini-*
“*stery of the Church of England) is*
“*sufficiently known, and I have been*
“*assured, it was not onely the Judge-*
“*ment of Bishop Overal, but that*
“*he had a principal hand in it; He*
“*produceth many Testimonies. The*
“*Master of the Sentences, and most*
“*of the Schoolmen, Bonaventure,*
“*Tho. Aquinas, Durand. Domini-*
“*cus, Soto, Richardus Armachanus,*
“*Tostatus, Alphonfus à Castro, Ger-*
“*son, Petrus, Canisius, to have af-*
“*firmed the same, and at last quo-*
“*teth Medina, a principal Bishop of*
I 4 the

Of ordination by Presbyters,

“ the Councel of Trent, who affirm-
 “ ed, That Jerome, Ambrose, Au-
 “ gustine, Sedulius, Primasius, Chry-
 “ sostome, Theodoret, Theophy-
 “ lact, were of the same judgement
 “ also. And I suppose there is none
 “ doubts, but that the Primate joyn-
 “ ed with Arch-Deacon Masor in
 “ that conclusive wish of his, viz.
 “ That wherein the Discipline of
 “ France, or Holland is defective,
 “ they would by all possible means
 “ redresse, and reform it, and con-
 “ forme themselves to the ancient
 “ custome of the Discipline of Christ,
 “ which hath continued from the
 “ Apostles time, that so they may
 “ remove all opinion of singularity,
 “ and stop the mouth of malice it
 “ selfe,

In a word, If the ordination of
 Presbyters in such places where Bishops
 cannot be had, were not valid, the
 late Bishops of Scotland had a hard
 task to maintain themselves to be Bi-
 shops, who were not Priests, for
 their Ordination was no other, And
 for this, a passage in the History of
 Scotland,

Scotland, wrote by the *Arch-Bishop* of *Saint Andrews* is observable, viz. That when the *Scots Bishops* were to be consecrated by the *Bishops* of *London*, *Ely*, and *Bath*, here at *London house*, An. 1609. he saith, A question was moved by *Doctor Andrews*, *Bishop* of *Ely*, touching the consecration of the *Scottish Bishops*, who, as he said, *must first be ordained Presbyters*, as having received no ordination from a *Bishop*. The *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, *Doctor Bancroft*, who was by; maintained, That thereof there was no necessity, seeing where *Bishops* could not be had, the ordination given by the *Presbyters* must be esteemed lawfull, otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawfull vocation in most of the reformed Churches, This applauded to by the other *Bishops*, *Ely* acquiesced, and at the day, and in the place appointed, the three *Scottish Bishops* were consecrated by the above-said three *English Bishops*, the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* forbearing for another cause there mentioned,

Now

Of ordination by Presbyters.

Now though the *ordination* of *Presbyters* in this case of necessity be granted to be valid, yet I have heard this *learned Primate* wonder at the neglect found in the *late presbyterian* way of ordination, *viz.* That at *imposition of hands*, they neither used the ancient form of words, with which the first framers of it were themselves ordained, nor used any other to that sence in their room, at least there is no order, or direction for it. For suppose the words of our *Saviour* to the Apostles, (John 10. 21, 21.) at their ordination were scrupled at, *viz. Receive the holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive are forgiven: and whose sins thou dost retain are retained,* (which rightly understood, gave no just cause) yet why might not the next words have been continued? *viz. and be thou a faithfull dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy Sacraments, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost: or the other words upon the solemne delivery of the Bible, into the hands of the person*

son ordained ; *Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed.* I can imagine no cause against the use of one of these, unlesse it be because they had been used there, as if in this sense, *old things must be done away ; and all must be new.* To impose hands (according to the injunction of the Apostle, and to have it accompanied with prayer and thanksgiving for the person, is *well done* (which in the *former constitution* was solemnly observed before, and after it) but why should the formal transmitting of Authority also in the name of Christ for the power of officiating be left undone, if the scruple in the *instrumental* cause be satisfied, why might it not have been prevented in the *formall*, who might have freely given what they had received. Now to give the *seal* of ordination (as some please to call *imposition of hands*) without any expresse *commission* annexed, or *grant* of Authority

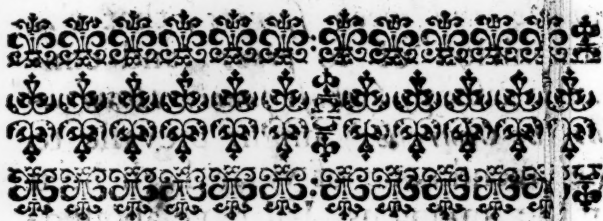
rity to the person, the *Primate* was wont to say, seemed to him to be like the putting of a scale to a blank, which being so weighty a businesse, I wish prudent men would consider of, least in the future it arm the *adversary* with *objections*; and fill our *own* with further *scruples*; And so much (far larger then I intended) for the prevention of any offence, which might be taken at the one part of the Letter.

Now for the *other clause* of his judgement, which he leaves unto me to judge, what in reason I might apprehend to be *his*, I leave it accordingly to the judgement of others: All that can give any offence, is that term of *Schisme*. But in regard it is not *directly* determined, but onely that he could not be an *Advocate* to excuse it; and being delivered in that *Latitude*, that it is dubious whether *forreigne* (to which the question chiefly relateth) or *domestick*, former times, or latter, may take the application. I shall not offend the Reader with any larger

Apology,

Apology, onely wherein any shall find themselves concerned, I wish such *humble and meek spirits*, that the admonition of *so pious*, and eminent a Bishop, (*whose fame is throughout the Churches*) might prevaile to the amendment of what hath been amisse among us. If I have abounded *beyond my measure*, to the hazard of the offence of *both parties* in these advertisements, let it be excused by the *impartiality* of it, and the *unbyassed* intention for the settling of truth and peace so shaken of later dayes.

The



The Primates judgement of severall Subjects.

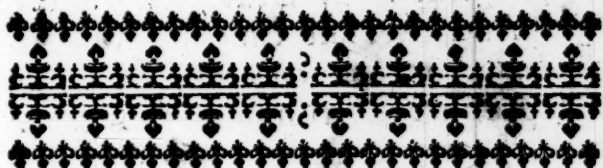
THe misinterpretations, which have been already made of this *most Reverend and Learned* mate, of a change of judgement in him towards his latter end, (which I have been moved here to *vindicate*) giving it suspected to be the *fore-runner* of more of the like, which may be raised hereafter, I have been advised upon this occasion, both in answer to, and prevention of any other *false rumours* for the *future*

ture to declare more fully what I did of him *briefly* in his Funerall Sermon, as to some particulars then whispering of him (*omitted at the presse*, but not with my will,) And I do it the rather in regard, as I was desired then by some of different *judgement*, to make an impartial relation of *his* there (there each like *Israel* and *Judah*, for *David*, claiming an interest in him) so finding that *omission* to be diversly interpreted to my censure, and conceived by some to be the occasion of those severall *mistakes* raised of him since, (whereby, as (*præf. to disp. of Sacram.*) Mr. Baxter complains, *The good Bishop must now be what every one will say of him, one feigning him to be of one extreame, and the other of the other extreame*) which the publishing might have prevented, I have thought fit to discharge that trust reposed in me, both in relation to his *Doctrine* and *practice*, and I know no person of more general

The Primates judgement

rall reputation, and more like
to be an exemplary pattern in this
his moderation, which I con-
ceived fit to be known
unto all men.

The



*The late Arch-Bishop of
Armagh, and Primate of Ireland,
his judgement in matter of Doctrine,
Discipline, and other subjects; of
which there have been some different
opinions among others, and
some misinterpretations
of him.*

IN *Doctrine* he did fully ap-
prove the *Articles of Reli-
gion* of the Church of Eng-
land, as the same more en-
larged in the *Articles of Ire-
land*: The *discipline* and *constitu-
tions* of both, he did also ap-
prove.

For the *Liturgy* in the publick
prayers, as while he lived at Dro-
gheda in Ireland, they were con-
stantly

The Primates judgement

stantly observed in his *family*, & he had them in estimation to his *last*; And the last time he was in *London* upon the occasion of some rash groundlesse rumours raised of him to the contrary, (to his *no small grief*) he gave his judgement accordingly to an *Honourable person*, wrote with his *owne hand*, which he shewed unto me; He had constantly prayers in his family *four* times a day; At *six* in the *morning*, and *eight* at *night*; they were such, wherein the *gifts* of those, who were his *Chaplains* were exercised, but before Dinner and Supper in the *Chappel*, was the forenamed also observed; Indeed he was not so *rigid*, as to tie all men in the *private*, to an absolute necessary use of it, or in the *publike*, that a Sermon was not to be heard, unless that did precede; And for the *healing* or *preventing* of those distractions and divisions, which have been among *Ministers* as others, and the moderating of each *extremity* in relation to the use of it whereby

whereby there might be a return of that wished-for *peace* and *unity*, which of late years we have been *strangers* to, He conceived some prudent moderate *accommodation* might have been thought of (and yet may) by *wise men*, in order to the present continuance of the *substantial* part of it, (each side yielding somewhat, after the example of Saint *Paul* in *circumstantials*) which might have better borne the name of a *reformation*, than thus to have a *total suppression* of it, whereby *with the intention* of gathering up the *Tares*, the *Wheat* hath been rooted up also.

As for some arbitrary *innovations*, not within the compasse of the rule, and order of the book, he did not affect, and often wished they had not been introduced, as foreseeing the issue of it, what was *commanded* he readily observed, but did not take upon him to introduce any *Rite*, or *Ceremony* upon his own opinion of *decency*, till the Church had judged it so; and thought they

most owned the book, who neither added, or diminished from the rule of it.

And for bowing at the Name of Jesus, though he censured not those that did, either in our, or other Reformed Churches, according to the *custome* of each, yet he did not conceive the *injunction* of it could be founded upon that of the *Apostle*, Phil. 2. 10. and wondred at some learned mens assertions, that it was the *Exposition* of all the *Fathers* upon it, And as the wise composers of the *Liturgy* gave no direct injunction for it there, so in *Ireland* he withstood the putting of it into the *Canon*, Anno 1634.

That a *form* of prayer, not only by way of *direction*, but punctually composed were fit to be had in the *publike* he was ever for, as much conducing to the benefit of the *vulgar* people, which are the major part of the Nation, and especially in the administration of *Baptisme*, and the *Communion*, as well for the shunning and preventing

venting the *disorder*, and scandalous *confusion* found in some mens performances of them, as the testifying of an *unity* and *unanimity* among us, which Saint *Paul* prefers as *the more excellent way*, before the variety of all *Spiritual* gifts whatsoever.

He often wished The judgement of *Calvine* concerning it (who was a wise and learned man) in his letter to the *L. Protector* of *England*, in *Edward the sixth's* time, were more known than it is, in regard of his esteem with such, who have

“ oppsed it, who doth a much ap-
 “ prove that there should be a cer-
 “ tain set form of prayer, from
 “ which it should not be lawfull for
 “ the Pastors to depart in their fun-
 “ ction, both that some care might be
 “ had of the more simple, and igno-
 “ rant sort, as also that the consent of
 “ all the Churches within themselves

o Quod ad for-
 mulam precum
 & rituum Ec-
 clestasticorum
 valde probo, ut
 certa illa extet
 à qua pastoribus
 discedere in
 functione sua
 non liceat, tam
 ut consulatur
 quorundam sim-
 plicitati & im-

peritia, quam ut certius ita constet omnium inter se Ecclesiarum consen-
 sus; postremo etiam ut obviam eatur desultoria quorundam levitati, qui No-
 vationes quasdam affectant; sic igitur statum esse Catechismum oportet
 statam Sacramentorum administrationem, publicam item precum forme-
 lam; vid. Ep. Anno 1546. Protectori Anglia.

“ might the more evidently appear.
 “ And lastly, for the prevention
 “ of the inconstant levity of some,
 “ who are affecters of novelty, and
 “ so adviseth to have a set Cate-
 “ chisme, a set form of publick
 “ prayers, and administration of Sa-
 “ craments.

He was for the *Ministers* improving of their gifts, and abilities in prayer, *before Sermon and after*, according to his own practice: but if that were done, he saw no reason why the other should *be left undone*; The Church of God being like a great *family*, whereein some being *Infants and Children*, as well as of *full age*, a provision must be had of *Milk*, as *stronger meat*, and all ought to be *equally* taken care of, even the ignorant, and *simpler* sort, as well as those of greater *education*.

For *Ordination*, or an ordained Ministry, such was his judgement of the *necessity* of it, That he took it to be a *fundamental*, and one of those *principles of Christian Do-*
ctrine

Drine, (Hebr. 6. 2.) called, *laying on of hands*; the great neglect of which he much lamented, as fearing it would prove to be the *undermining* the foundation of our Church, which Mr. Cartwright, in his *a Commentary* a Answer to the Rhem. Lett upon the place, confirms to the *full*, and in a *higher* expression, as if it were the *overthrow of Christianity*. And yet, as you have heard, he was not so severe as to condemn, and *disown the Ministry of other reformed Churches*, or refuse Communion with them, because in every particular, as to *some persons* usually ordaining, they were defective.

For *Episcopacy*, he was not wanting with Saint Paul to *magnifie his own office*, by two several *Traſtates* he hath published, (none being more able to defend the *ancient* right of it) for which he was by Letters *importuned*, by some of the most *eminent* persons of his own *profession*, yet how *humbly* without any *partiality* to himself, and the *eminent* degree he had obtained in it, did he

The Primates Judgement

declare his judgement, is evident by the above-said *Treatises*, and the *Letter* before mentioned, And his *prudence* in the present *accommodation* of things in that *Treatise* of his, viz. *The reduction of it to the form of Synodical Government*, for the *prevention of that disturbance, which did afterwards arise about it*, is as apparent also; if others concerned in these transactions had been of that *moderation, humility, and meekness*, the wound given, might have been *healed* before it grew *incurable*.

That the *Annual Commemorations* of the Articles of the faith, such as the *Nativity, Passion, Resurrection*, of our Saviour, &c. were fit to be observed (which *Saint Augustine* saith, in his time were *in use through the whole Catholick Church of Christ*) and is now in some *Reformed Churches*, as a means to keep them in the *memory* of the vulgar, (according to the *pattern* of Gods injunction to the *Israelites* in the *Old Testament*, for the
Types

Types of them) appeared sufficient-ly to be his judgement, by his *then constant preaching* upon those subjects.

The *Friday* before *Easter* (i.e. the *Resurrection*, East in old Saxon, signifying *rising*) appointed for the remembrance of the *Passion* of our Saviour, he did duely at *Drogheda*, in *Ireland*, observe as a *solemn fast*, (inclining the rather to that *choice* out of *Prudence*, and the *security* from *censure*, by the then custome of having Sermons beyond their ordinary limit in *England*;) when (after the publick prayers of the Church) he first preached upon that subject, *extending* himselfe in *prayer* and Sermon beyond his ordinary time, which we imitated, who succeeded in the duties of the day, and which being known to be his *constant* custome, some from *Dublin*, as other parts, came to partake of it; which most excellent *Sermons* of his upon that occasion, he was by many *Godly Religious* persons importuned much for the publishing of them,

them, and his *strict* observation of this *fast* was such, that neither *before*, or *after* that extraordinary paines would he take the least *refreshment*, till about six a Clock, and which did not excuse him from Preaching again on *Easter day*, when we constantly had a Communion.

That Tractate of his, entitled, *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, was the summe of two, or three Sermons, which I heard him preach at *Drogheda*, at that *Festivall*, when we celebrate the *birth of our Saviour*.

That he was for the often publike reading of the *ten Commandements*, and the *Creed*, before the Congregation, according to the custome of other reformed Churches, I suppose none can doubt of, and not onely that, which is commonly called the *Apostles Creed*, but the *Nicene* and *Athanasius*, his book of the *three Creeds* sufficiently perswade it.

What his judgement was of the *use of the Lords Prayer*, his practice shewed

shewed it in the constant concluding of his prayer before Sermon with it. And his approbation of that gesture of *kneeling* at the Communion was often apparent before many witnesses.

For *confirmation of Children* (which *Calvine, Beza, Piscator*, and others do much commend, and wish it were restored among them) he was not wanting in his observation, as an ancient laudable *custom*, by which was *occasioned* the more frequent having in *memory* the principles of religion, with the yonger sort. At his *first publike* giving notice of the time of that his intention, (it having been long *disused* in *Ireland*) he made a large speech unto the people of the *antiquity* of it, the *prudence* of the first reformers in purging it from *Popish superstitions*, with the *end* of it, and then such youths presented to him, who could repeat the *publike Catechisme* were confirmed, and so often afterwards, and indeed the apprehension of his *piety and holiness*

The Primates Judgement

linesse moved the *Parents* much, to desire that their *Children* might by him receive that *Benediction*, which was seconded with good, and *spiritual* instruction, that stuck to them when they came to further years.

The *publike Catechisme*, containing the summe of the *Creed*, the 10. *Commandements*, the *Lords Prayer*, and *Doctrine of the Sacraments*, despised by some for its plainness, he thought therefore to be the more profitable for the *vulgar*; And at *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, gave me orders every *Lords day* in the afternoon, (beside the *Sermon* which was not omitted) to explain it.

He was very exemplary in the careful observation of the *Lords day* in his *family*; The *Sermon* preached by him in the forenoon, being constantly repeated in the *Chappel* by his *Chaplain*, about five of the *Clock* in the *afternoon*, unto which many of the *Town* resorted.

For *Habits*, he observed such, which were accustomed by those of his

his

his profession; for the *Organ*, and the *Quire*, he continued them as he found them in use before him. And as in *all things*, so in his ordinary wearing *Garments*, he was a *Pattern of gravity*, approving much of a *distinctive* Apparel in the Ministry that way.

Lastly, for the *Ecclesiastical Constitutions of Ireland*, as he was in *An. 1634.* (being then the *Primate*) the chief guide in their establishment, so before he was a Bishop, *An. 614.* being then a Member of the *Convocation*, he was employed as a principal person for the *Collecting*, and drawing up such *Canons* as concerned the *Discipline*, and *Government* of the Church, and were to be treated upon by the *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops*, and the rest of the *Clergy of Ireland*, (divers taken out of the *Statutes*, *Queen Elizabeths Injunctions*, and the *Canons of England, 1571.*) which I have lately found, *written then with his own hand.* The *two first* of which being in these words.

1. That

The Primates judgement

1. That no other form of Liturgy, or Divine service, shall be used in any Church of this Realm; but that, which is established by Law, and comprized in the book of Common-Prayer, and Administrations of Sacraments, &c. 2. That no other form of Ordination shall be used in this Nation, but which is contained in the book of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, allowed by Authority, and hitherto practized in the Churches of England, and Ireland, make it apparent that his judgement concerning many of the above-mentioned subjects, was the same in his younger, as Elder years.

And yet notwithstanding all this, there were *alwayes* some, and still are too many, who are apt to blurre him with the title of a *Puritane*, (which is is one occasion of this enlargement) though in none the sense of it is more *uncertain* then in his *application*, and from none a greater lustre would be given unto it than by his *reflexion*. In whom, with his conformity to the *Discipline*,

pline , Liturgy , and Articles of the Church of England, labour in writing , constancy in preaching against the errours of Popery , and such as border upon it , so much humility , holinesse , and charity , and other fruits of the spirit did so eminently shine. Indeed I have seen divers Letters , wrote unto him from those , who heretofore were so aspersed , full of respect , and large expressions of their love to him , and many receiving satisfaction , have concurred with him in the abovesaid particulars , his humility and meeknesse prevailing more then others strict austerity , but how that said Title could be fixed on him , I am yet to seek , unlesse it bear a better sense than the Authors of it will own.

Nay , some of the simpler sort , hearing of a conjunction of Popery and Prelacy , have thought they could not be parted in him , though most of his Sermons , as well as his writings , sufficiently clear him that way. I remember many yeares agoe,

gone, the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* wrote unto him into *Ireland*, of a strong rumour then raised of him here at *Court*, That he was *turned a Papist* (presumed to be by a Letter of some Popish Priest from thence.) But it fell out to be at the *same time*, or *immediately* after he had in two Learned *sermons* given his judgement at large, that the *Papacy* was meant by *Babylon*, in the 17, and 18, of the *Revelation*, which in the *return* of his answer to that report he did *affirm*, and was his judgement to his last, though the reply made to him did not consent in that.

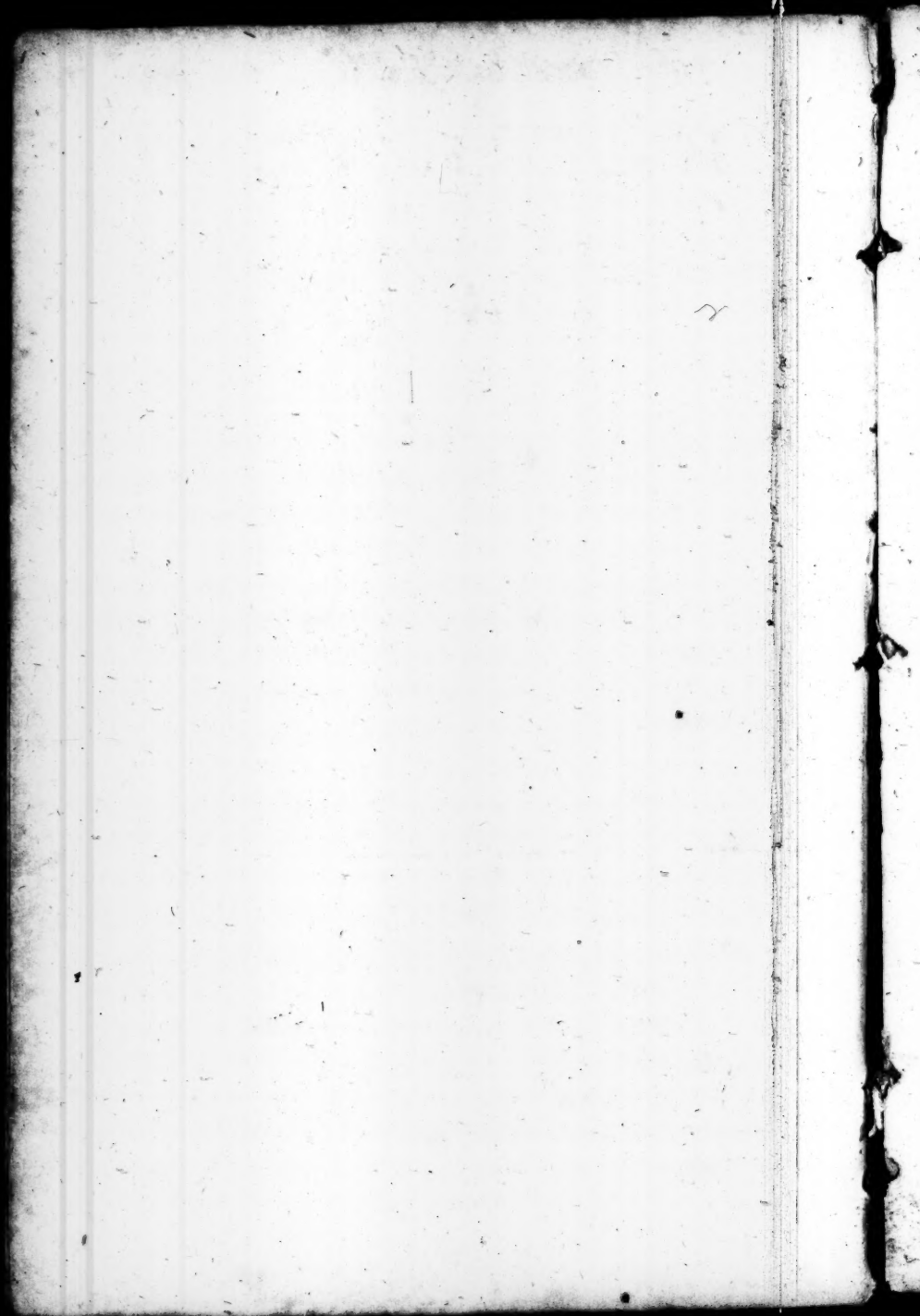
I am not a stranger to such a *design* of some of the *Romish party*, a little before his death, for the raising of the *like rumour*, by some *Letters* wrote unto him from some of eminency among them, which I disdain any further to mention.

And thus upon this occasion I have endeavoured to prevent for the *future*, any more injurious mistakes of him, by an *impartial* declaring, according to my knowledge,

ledge, his judgement, and practice in these particulars, wherein he may well be esteemed of us (as *Erasmus* saith of Saint *Augustine*) *Vividum quoddam exemplar Episcopi, omnibus virtutum numeris absolutum.* And I wish in these divided times, wherein each party hath a great, and a reverend opinion of him, they would shew it in this, by taking his spirit of moderation for their Copy to write after, and for my own part, I would to God not only they, but also all that read, or hear this of him, were both almost, and altogether such as he was.

L

THE



147

THE
REDUCTION
OF
EPISCOPACY

Unto the Form of
Synodical Government,

Received in the
ANCIENT CHURCH:

By the most Reverend and learned Father
of our Church Dr. JAMES USHER,
late Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, and
Primate of all *Ireland*.

Proposed in the year 1641. as an Expedient for the prevention of those Troubles, which afterwards did arise about the matter of *Church-Government*.

Published by NICHOLAS BERNARD,
D. D. Preacher to the Honourable Society
of *Graves-Inne*, London.

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TO THE READER.

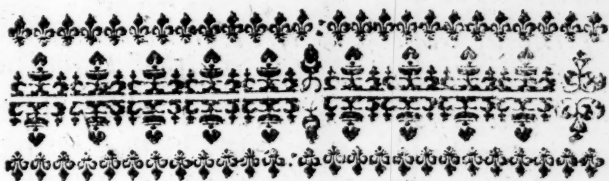
THE Originall of this
*was given me by the most
 Reverend Primate, some
 few years before his death,
 wrote throughout with
 his own hand, and of late I have
 found it subscribed by himself, and
 Doctor Holfeworth, and with a Mar-
 ginal Note at the first Proposition,
 which I have also added. If it may
 now answer the expectation of many
 pious, and prudent Persons, who
 have desired the publishing of it, as a
 seasonable preparative to some mode-
 ration in the midst of those extreams,
 which this Age abounds with, it*

will attain the end intended by the *Authour*: And it is likely to be more operative, by the great *reputation* he had, and hath in the hearts of *all good men*, being far from the least suspicion to be byassed by any private ends, but onely ayming at the reducing of *Order, Peace, and Unity, which God is the Authour of*, and not of confusion. For the recovery of which, it were to be wished, that such as do consent in *Substantials*, for matter of *Doctrin*e, would consider of some *conjunction* in point of *Discipline*, that private interest and *circumstantials*, might not keep them thus far asunder.

Graves-Inne,
Octob. 13.
1657.

N. BERNARD.

The



The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient Church; proposed in the year 1641, as an Expedient for the prevention of those troubles, which afterwards did arise about the matter of Church-Government.

*Episcopal and Presbyterial
Government conjoyned.*

BY Order of the Church of England, all Presbyters are charged ^a to administer the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline ^a The book of Ordination.

*pline of Christ, as the Lord hath com-
manded, and as this Realme hath re-
ceived the same; And that they
might the better understand what
the Lord had commanded therein,
the exhortation of Saint Paul, to
the Elders of the Church of Ephe-
sus is appointed to be read unto them
at the time of their Ordination; Take
heed unto your selves, and to all the
flock among whom the Holy Ghost hath
made you Overseers to Rule the Con-
gregation of God, which he hath pur-
chased with his blood.*

Ibid. ex Aa.
20, 27, 28.

So taken in
Mat. 2. 6. and
Rev. 12. 5. and
19. 15.

Of the many Elders, who in common thus ruled the Church of *Ephesus*, there was one *President*, whom our *Saviour* in his *Epistle* unto this Church in a peculiar manner stileth *the Angell of the Church of Ephesus*: and *Ignatius* in another *Epistle* written about twelve yeares after unto the same Church, calleth the *Bishop* thereof. Betwixt the Bishop and the Presbytery of that Church, what an harmonious consent there was in the ordering of the Church-Government, the same

Ignatius

d Rev. 2, I.

Ignatius doth fully there declare,
 by the Presbytery, with ^e Saint ^e 1 Tim. 4. 14.
Paul, understanding the Commu-
 nity of the rest of the Presbyters,
 or Elders, who then had a hand not
 onely in the delivery of the Do-
 ct^rine and Sacraments, but also in
 the Administration of the Discipline
 of Christ: for further proof of which,
 we have that known testimony of
Tertullian in his general Apology
 for Christians. ^f In the Church are ^f Ibidem etiam
 used exhortations, chastisements, and exhortationes,
 divine censure; for judgement is gi- castigationes &
 ven with great advice as among those, censura divina;
 who are certain they are in the sight nam & judica-
 of God, and in it is the chiefest fore- tur magno cum
 shewing of the judgement which is to pondere ut apud
 come, if any man have so offended, certos de Dei
 that he be banished from the Commu- conspectu, sum-
 nion of prayer, and of the Assembly, minque futuri
 and of all holy fellowship. The Presi- judicii præjudi-
 cium est, si quis
 dents that bear rule therein are cer- ita deliquerit,
 tain approved Elders, who have ob- ut à communica-
 tained this honour not by reward, but tione orationis.
 & conventus,
 & omnis sancti
 commercii rele-
 getur. præsi-
 dent probati

quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed Testimonio adepti. Ter-
 tul. Apologet. cap. 39.

¶ *Deo de alio
num manibus
quam presiden-
tium sumimus,
Id. de corona
militis, cap. 3.*

¶ *Dandi quidem
Baptismi ha-
beret jus summus
sacerdos; qui
est Episcopus:
dehinc Presby-
teri & Diaconi.
Id. de Bapt.
cap. 17.*

¶ *Omni actu ad
me per lato pla-
cuisse contrahi
Presbyterium,
Cornel. apud
Cyp. epist. 46.
¶ Florentissimo
alio eleo tecum
presidenti. Cy-
prian. epist. 55.
ad Cornel.*

by good report, who were no other (as he himself intimates) elsewhere but *those from whose hands they used to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist.*

For with the *Bishop*, who was the chiefe President (and therefore stiled by the same *Tertullian* in another place, *h Summus Sacerdos* for distinction sake) the rest of the dispensers of the Word and Sacraments joyned in the common Government of the Church; and therefore, where in matters of Ecclesiasticall Judicature, *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* used the received forme of *gathering together the Presbytery*; of what persons that did consist, *Cyprian* sufficiently declareth, when he wisheth him to read his Letters *to the flourishing Clergy: which there did preside, or rule with him:* The presence of the Clergy being thought to bee so requisite in matters of Episcopall audience, that in the fourth Council of *Carthage* it was concluded, *That*

1 That the Bishop might hear no mans
 cause without the presence of the Cler-
 gy : and that otherwise the Bishops
 sentence should be void , unless it
 were confirmed by the presence of the
 Clergy : which we find also to be in-
 serted into the Canons of ^m Egbert,
 who was Arch-Bishop of York in
 the Saxon times , and afterwards
 into the body of the ⁿ Cannon Law
 it self.

1 Ut Episcopus
 nullius causam
 audiat absque
 presentia Cleri-
 corum suorum,
 alioquin irrita
 erit sententia
 Episcopi nisi
 Clericorum pre-
 sentia confirme-
 tur, Concil.
 Carthag. IV.
 cap. 23.
 m Excerptio.
 Egberti, c. 43.
 n 15. q. 7. cap.
 Nullus.

True it is, that in our Church
 this kinde of *Presbyterial Govern-
 ment* hath been long disused , yet
 seeing it still professeeth that every
 Pastor hath a right to rule the Church
 (from whence the name of *Rector*
 also was given at first unto him) and
 to administer the *Discipline of Christ*,
 as well as to dispense the *Doctrine and
 Sacraments* , and the restraint of the
 exercise of that right proceedeth
 onely from the custome now recei-
 ved in this Realm ; no man can
 doubt, but by another Law of the
 Land, this hinderance may be well
 removed. And how easily this an-
 cient form of Government by the
 united

united suffrages of the *Clergy* might be moved again, and with what likelihood of alteration the *Synodical* Conventions of the Pastors of every Parish might be accorded with the *presidency* of the *Bishops* of each Diocese and Province, the indifferent Reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the ensuing *Propositions*.

I.

*How the Church
might Synodi-
cally be Go-
verned, Arch-
Bishops and Bi-
shops being still
retained,*

In every Parish the *Rector*, or Incumbent Pastor, together with the *Church-Wardens* and Side-men, may every week take notice of such as live *scandalously* in that Congregation, who are to receive such several admonitions and reproofs, as the quality of their offence shall deserve; And if by this means they cannot be reclaimed, they may be presented to the next *monethly Synod*; and in the mean time debarred by the *Pastor* from access unto the Lords Table.

II. Where

II.

Whereas by a Statute in the six and twentieth year of King Henry the eighth (revived in the first year of Queen Elizabeth) *Suffragans* are appointed to be erected in 26 several places of this Kingdom; the number of them might very well be conformed unto the number of the several *Rural Deanries*, into which every Diocese is subdivided; which being done, the *Suffragan* supplying the place of those, who in the ancient Church were called *Chorepiscopi*, might every moneth assemble a Synod of all the *Rectors*, or Incumbent *Pastors* within the Precinct, and according to the *major part* of their voyces, coclude all matters that shall be brought into debate before them.

To this *Synod* the *Rector* and Church-wardens might present such impenitent persons, as by admonitions and *suspension* from the Sacrament would not be reformed; who if they should still remain contumacious and incorrigible, the sentence of

Excommu-

Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and accordingly be executed in the Parish where they lived. Hitherto also all things that concerned the *Parochial Ministers* might be referred, whether they did touch their *Doctrine*, or their *conversation* * as also the censure of all *new Opinions*, *Heresies*, and *Schismes*, which did arise within that Circuit; with liberty of Appeal, if need so require, unto the *Diocesan Synod*.

III.

The *Diocesan Synod* might be held, *once*, or *twice* in the year, as it should be thought most convenient: Therein all the *Suffragans*, and the rest of the *Rectors*, or Incumbent Pastors (or a certain select number of of every *Deanry*) within the *Diocese* might meet, with whose consent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Bishop, or * *Superintendent* (call him whether you will) or in his absence, by one of the *Suffragans*; whom he shall depute

* *Ἐπισκοπῶν-
τες*, id est, *super-
intendentes*;
unde & nomen
Episcopi tra-
ctum est, Hie-
ron, epist. 86.
ad Evagrium.

depute in his stead to be *Moderator* of that Assembly.

Here all matters of *greater* moment might be taken into consideration, and the Orders of the monthly Synodes *revised*, and (if need be) *reformed*: and if here also any matter of difficulty could not receive a full determination: it might be referred to the next *provincial*, or *National* Synod.

IV.

The *provincial* Synod might consist of *all the Bishops and Suffragans*, and such other of the Clergy as should be *elected* out of every *Diocese* within the *Province*, the *Arch-Bishop* of either Province, might be the *Moderator* of this meeting, (or in his room some *one* of the *Bishops* appointed by him) and all matters be ordered therein by common consent as in the former Assemblies.

This Synod might be held every third year, and if the Parliament do then sit (according to the Act
of

of a *Triennial* Parliament) *both the Arch-Bishops and Provincial Synods* of the Land might joyn together, and make up a *National Council*: wherein all *Appeals* from *inferiour Synods* might be received; all their *Acts examined*, and all *Ecclesiastical Constitutions* which concerne the state of the Church of the whole Nation *established*.

WE are of the judgement That the form of Government here proposed is *not in any point repugnant to the Scripture*; and that the *Suffragans mentioned in the second Proposition*, may lawfully use the power both of *Jurisdiction and Ordination*, according to the Word of God, and the practice of the ancient Church.

Ja. Armachanus.

Rich. Holdsworth.

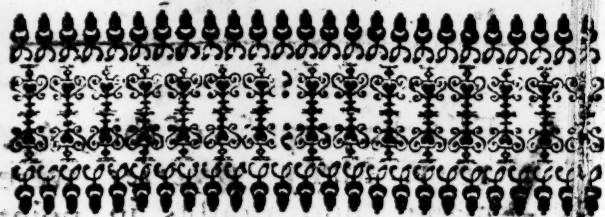
After

After the propofal of this, An. 1641. Many *Queries* were made, and doubts in point of confcience refolved by the *Primate*, divers passages of which he heth left under his *own hand*, shewing his pious endeavours to peace and unity, which how far it then prevailed, is out of feafon now to relate, only I wifh it might yet be thought of to the *repairing of the breach*, which this divifion hath made, and that thofe, who are by their Office *Messengers of Peace*, and whose *first word to each house* should be *peace*, would earnestly promote it, within the walls of their *Mother-Church*, wherein they were educated, and not thus by contending about *circumftantials* lose the *subftance*, and make our selves a prey to the adverfary of both, who rejoyce in their hearts, *faying, So would we have it.*

M

Which

which are the Primates works,



Which are the *Primates*
works, and which not.

A Catalogue of the Works already
printed of Doctor *James Usher*,
late Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*,
and Primate of all *Ireland*,
which are owned by him.

In *Latine*.

DE *Ecclesiarum Christianarum*
successione & Statu. Quarto,
Londinii, 1613.

Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, 4º.
Dublinii 1630.

Historia Goteschalci, 4º. Dublinii
1631.

De

De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britan-
carum, 4°. Dublinii 1633.

Ignatii Epistolæ cum annotationibus,
4°. Oxoniæ 1645.

De Anno Solari Macedonum, 8°. Lon-
dini 1648.

Annales Veteris Testamenti, Fol.
Londini 1650.

Annales Novi Testamenti usque ad ex-
tremum Templi & Reipublicæ Ju-
daicæ excidium, &c. Fol. Londini
1654.

Epistola ad Capellum de Variantibus
textus Hebraici Lectionibus, 4°.
Londinii 1652.

De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum
versione Syntagma 4°. Londini
1655.

These four last are sold by John
Crook, at the Ship in St. Paul's
Church-yard.

In English.

AN Answer to a challenge made by the Jesuite *Malone* in *Ireland*, Anno 1631.

A Sermon preached before the House of Commons, *Febr.* 18. 1618.

A Declaration of the visibility of the Church, preached in a Sermon before King *James*, *June* 20. 1624.

A Speech delivered in the Castle-Chamber in *Dublin*, the 22. of *November*, 1622.

The Religion profest by the ancient *Irish* and *Brittains*, 4°. 1631.

These five are bound together in Quarto,

Immanuel, or the Incarnation of the Son of God, 4°. *Dublin*. 1639.

A Geographical Description of the *Lesser Asia*, 4°. *Oxford*, 1644.

The judgement of Doctor *Reynolds*, touching the Original of *Episcopacy* more largely confirmed out of Antiquity, *An.* 1641.

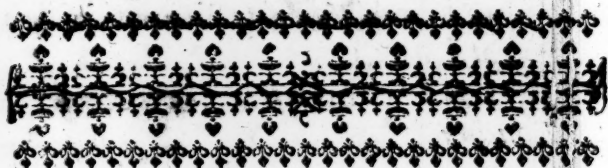
His

His Discourse of the Original of
Bishops and Metropolitanes, in 4^o.
Oxford, 1644.

His small Catechisme re-viewed, 12^o.
London, 1654.

His aforesaid Annals of the Old
and New Testament ; with the
Synchronismus of Heathen Story
to the destruction of *Jerusalem*,
translated out of *Latin* into *Eng-
lish* now at the Presse , Fol. to be
sold by *John Crook* , at the Ship
in *St. Pauls Church-yard*.

*Which are the Primates works,
Which are the Primates works*



In regard there have been, and are divers books printed, which go under the name of the late Archbishop of Armagh, but are not his, and more may be obtruded to the injury of him, I have thought fit, at the request of the Printer, to give the Reader this advertisement following.



IN Anno 1640. There was a book printed, entitled the Bishop of Armaghs direction to the house of Parliament, concerning the Liturgy and Episcopal Government, and Anno 1641. Another book entitled *Vox Hibernia*, being some pretended notes of his, at a publick fast. Both these at his Petition

tion were suppressed by order from the House of Lords and Commons, 11. Feb. 1641. and I hope will not be revived.

In Anno 1631. A book called (*A Method for Meditation*), or a manual of Divine duties, which most injuriously is printed in his name, but is none of his, which he directed me then to declare publicly as from him, yet in 1657. it is again reprinted to his great dishonour.

For his *small Catechisme* the Reader is to take notice, that there was a false one Printed without his knowledge, and is still sold for his. The injury he received by it compelled him to review it, with an *Epistle* of his own before it; which is the mark to know the right Edition, though being framed for his private use in his younger yeares, (about 23.) he had no intention of it for the publick.

If any *Sermon-Notes* taken from him have been Printed in his lifetime under his name, or shall be hereafter) which divers have of

late attempted) The Reader is to take notice that it was against his minde, and that they are *disowned*, by him, which as he endeavoured to his utmost to suppress, while he was *living*, so it was his fear to be injured in it after his *death*.

For a further confirmation of which, I shall give you part of a Letter of his, while he was *Bishop of Meath*, (upon the like intention of a printer, who had gotten into his hands some Notes of his *Sermons*, said to be preached by him in *London*, and was about to publish them) which he wrote to Doctor Featly, Chaplain to the then *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* for the stopping of them, in these words.

I beseech you to use all your power to save me from that disgrace, which undiscreeet and covetous men go about to fasten upon me, or else I must be driven to protest against their injurious dealings with me, and say as Donatus once did, Mala illis sit, qui me festinant edere ante me.

But I repose confidence in you, that
you will take order that so great a
wrong as this may not be done unto
me. Remember me to worthy Do-
ctor Good, and forget not in your
prayers.

Dublin,
Sept. 16.
1622.

Your most assured loving
friend, and fellow
labourer

J. A. MEDENSIS.

That

THat book entitled the *summe and substance of Christian religion*, some of the *materials* with the *Method* are his, collected by him in his younger years, for his own private use: but, being so unpolished, defective, and full of mistakes, he was much displeased at the publishing of it in his name. And though it be much commended at *home*, and by *Ludovicus Crocius* abroad, yet that he did disown it as it is now set forth, this Letter following, wrote to Mr. *John Downham*, (who caused it to be printed) doth sufficiently confirm, as followeth.

S I R,

S I R,

You may be pleased to take notice, that the *Catechisme* you write of is none of mine, but transcribed out of Mr. Cartwrights *Catechisme*, and Mr. Crooks, and some other *English Divines*, but drawn together in one Method, as a kind of *Common-place-book*, where other mens judgements and reasons are simply laid down, though not approved in all points by the *Collector*; besides that the Collection (such as it is) being lent abroad to divers in scattered sheets, hath for a great part of it miscarried, the one half of it as I suppose (well nigh) being no way to be recovered, so that so *imperfect* a thing Copied *verbatim* out of others, and in divers places dissonant from mine *own* judgement, may not by any meanes be owned by me; But if it shall seem good to any industrious person to cut off
what

what is weak and superfluous therein, and supply the wants thereof, and cast it into a new mould of his own framing, I shall be very well content that he make what use he pleaseth of any the *materials* therein, and set out the whole in his own name: and this is the resolution of

May 13.
1645.

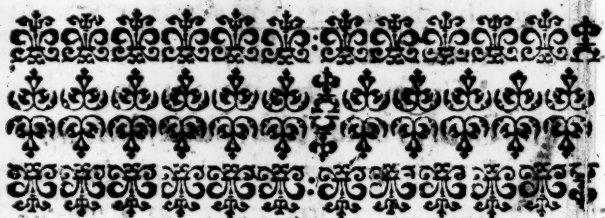
*Your most assured
loving friend*

JA. ARMACHANUS.

A Book

A Book entituled *Confessions and Proofs of Protestant Divines of Reformed Churches for Episcopacy, &c.* though it be a very Learned one, yet it is not his; Onely that of the *Original of Bishops and Metropolitans* (Frequently bound up with the former) is owned by him. unto which he was earnestly moved by a Letter from Doctor Hall, the late Reverend and Learned *Bishop of Norwich*, then *Bishop of Exeter*; which, shewing the great esteem he had of him, is annexed as followeth.

To



*To the most Reverend Father
in God, and my most Honour'd
Lord, the Lord Arch-Bishop
of Armagh, and Primate of
Ireland.*

*Most Reverend, and my most wor-
thily Honour'd, Lord.*

THat which fell from me
yesterday, suddenly and
transcurfively, hath since
taken up my after-mid-
night thoughts, and I
must crave leave, what I then moved,
to importune, that your Grace would
be pleas'd to bestow one sheet of
paper upon these distracted times,
in the subject of *Episcopacy*, shew-
ing

ing the *Apostolical Original* of it, and the grounds of it from Scripture, and the immediately succeeding antiquity; Every line of it coming from your *Graces* hand, would be *super rotas suas*: as *Solomons* expression is, *very Apples of Gold, with Pictures of Silver*, and more worth than volumes from us: Think, that I stand before you like the *Man of Macedon*, and that you hear me say, *Come and help us*: And as your *Grace* is wholly given up to the common good of the Church, say, whether you can deny it? and if please your *Grace* to take your rise from my humble *motion* to expresse your self in this question, wherein I am publickly interested, or otherwise, to professe your *voluntary* resolutions for the settling of many, either misled, or doubting Soules, it will be the most acceptable, and (I hope) the most successfull work that your *Grace* hath ever undertaken; It was my earnest motion long ago to (*urges us*) to intreat this labour from your *Grace*; which now comes from my meanesse;

ness; your Gracious humility will not even from so low hands disregard it; with my zealous suit, and hopeful expectation of a yeilding answer, I humbly take leave, and am

*Your Graces humbly, and
heartily devoted*

JOS. EXON.

FINIS

A